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A RELATION,
OR RATHER A TRUE ACCOUNT,
OF THE
ISLAND OF ENGLAND;

WITH

SUNDRY PARTICULARS OF THE CUSTOMS OF THESE PEOPLE,
AND OF THE ROYAL REVENUES UNDER KING
HENRY THE SEVENTH,

ABOUT THE YEAR 1500.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ITALIAN, WITH NOTES,
BY CHARLOTTE AUGUSTA SNEYD.



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P R E F A C E.

The MS. from which this is translated was formerly in the library of the Abbate Canonici at Venice, and is now in the possession of the Rev. Walter Sneyd. Neither the name of the writer of this history, nor that of the person to whom it was addressed, is known. It appears, however, to be the work of some noble Venetian, who accompanied an ambassador from Venice to the court of England, and who was employed by him to write the report usually made to the Senate by every ambassador on his return from his mission, of the country to which he had been sent. In the annexed list of Venetian ambassadors and their Relations of this country, for which I am indebted to the researches of John Holmes, Esquire, F.S.A. of the British Museum, through whose kindness so valuable an addition is given to this little volume, it appears that Francesco Capello was the earliest Venetian ambassador, on record, to England. It may have been the work of his secretary; but I am rather inclined to

suppose that it was written prior to the embassy of Capello ; for, according to Rymer's *Fœdera*, a treaty was signed by Henry the Seventh at Windsor, in September, 1496, in which that King agreed to take part in the league formed by the Italian States against France, “*the Venetian and Milanese ambassadors being both present* ;” and, as there is frequent mention of a Milanese ambassador, as the writer met Don Peter de Ayala the Spanish ambassador to the King of Scotland, through whose mediation the treaty of Ayton was brought about in Sept. 1497, and as he was only *one* whole winter in England (vide p. 12), it must have been that of 1496–97. It is most probable, therefore, that he accompanied a special mission from Venice to England, to conclude this treaty, and that Capello was the first resident ambassador sent after, and in consequence of it.

“THE following list of Venetian ambassadors to England does not purport to contain the names of all who have ever been sent to England in that capacity ; it consists only of the scattered notices which have been found in various places, and which are here arranged chronologically, in order to show the various “*Relations*” of England which still exist, and which it may be thought desirable to present to the English reader at some other time. It may also stimulate to further search for the *Relations* of those ambassadors whose names are here given, and who in the fulfilment of their instructions must have written *Relations*, which



as yet lie hidden in the libraries of Italy, if they have not altogether perished in the dispersion of the archives of Venice.

The Relation of England, now printed for the first time, is very probably written by the secretary of Francesco Capello. In point of date, it is the earliest Venetian Relation on record. The next is that of Spain, by Vincenzo Quirini, in 1504. Of Germany, the earliest is by Cardinal Contarini, in 1525. Of France, that by Andrea Navagero, in 1528. Of Tuscany, that by Marco Foscari, in 1530. Of Rome, that by Antonio Suriano (who, as it will be seen, had been ambassador to England) in 1535. And of Turkey, that by Cardinal Bernardo Navagero, in 1552.

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1502. Francesco Capello, who was knighted at Greenwich, 18 May, 17 Henr. VII.

1514. Vincenzo Capello, to whom arms were granted by Letters Patent, dat. 1 July, 6 Henr. VIII. In 1538, when 73 years of age, he commanded the Venetian fleet, which, with the Emperor's fleet under Andrea Doria, was sent to oppose Barbarossa, then Capitan Pacha of the Turks.

1515-19. Sebastiano Giustiniani and Pietro Pasqualigo, who were sent by Leonardo Loredano, then Doge of Venice, in pursuance of the acceptance by the Seignory of the treaty of 7 August, 1514. The letters of credence from the Doge, addressed to Cardinal Wolsey in their favour, are dated 2 Feb., 151 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Pietro Pasqualigo had been previously ambassador to Portugal in 1501, but no Relation by him is known to be extant. In the British Museum there are several letters of Giustiniani, but not his Relazione of England. A compendium of it was in a volume of transcripts relative to England, formerly in the possession of Benj. Heywood Bright, Esq., who communicated a short extract, containing a description of the person and manners of Henry VIII., to Sir Henry Ellis. This extract is printed in "Original Letters," second series,

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vol. i. p. 177. The MS. now belongs to Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart.

1519. 15 April, Ind. 7. Sebastiano Giustiniani and Antonio Suriano, commissioned by Leonardo Loredano to give the consent of the Seignory, to be included in the treaty between Henry and Francis. Their credentials are printed in Rymer. Suriano was afterwards sent as ambassador to Rome.

1522. Jan.-Nov. A Venetian orator was at this time resident in London, but his name has not been found. He may be the same with Antonio Suriano.

1525. Mar. 31, Ind. 13. Lorenzo Orio ; sent by Andrea Gritti : his credentials are printed in Rymer. Orio died in London, and was succeeded, apparently in the same year, by Gaspar Spinelli, secretary to the senate, who was specially appointed to negotiate in the affairs consequent upon the captivity of Francis I. who had been taken prisoner by Charles V. at the battle of Pavia. His original commission is extant. About the year 1532 Spinelli was elected grand chancellor of Cyprus.

1526. 23 July, Ind. 14. Marcantonio Veniero ; sent as orator by Andrea Gritti. His credentials are printed in Rymer.

1545. Francesco Bernardo ; who was employed as a secret agent in the time both of Henry VIII. and Edw. VI., was knighted 37 Henry VIII. and had a special grant of arms.

1548. Domenico Bolani, ambassador of Venice, was knighted 2 Edward VI.

1548-1551. Daniele Barbaro, who was appointed ambassador to England, 12th Oct. 1548. During his embassy he was named by Julius III. on the 17th Dec. 1550, as coadjutor to Giovanni Grimani, patriarch of Aquileia, and he was thenceforward called Patriarch Elect. Arms were granted to him by patent, dat. 12 Feb. 5 Edw. VI. (1551.) He was one of the prelates who assisted at the Council of Trent. His death took place 12th April, 1570. Several of his works have been

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printed: others still remain in manuscript. A Relation of England by him is extant: of which one copy is in the British Museum, one in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, one in Sir Thomas Phillipps's collection at Middle Hill, two in the Earl of Leicester's library at Holkham, one in the possession of Lord Calthorpe, one in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, and four in the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris.

A few copies of this Relation were privately printed in 1804, at the expense of George, Earl of Macartney, in quarto, pp. 36: at the end, it is said to have been printed from a manuscript, “ copiata da MSS. della privata biblioteca del Serenissimo Doge di Venezia, Ludovico Manin, questo dì, 7 Dec. 1795. È da notare, che la successione di questo ramo della famiglia Barbaro, passata nella famiglia Basadonna ultimamente estinta, è divenuta ora in questa famiglia Manin.” It is possible, therefore, that Lord Macartney's edition represents Barbaro's own copy. Manin was the last Doge of Venice: after the treaty of Campo Formio, he was forced to swear allegiance to Austria, and fainted whilst taking the oath tendered to him by Francesco Pesaro, another degenerate Venetian. Manin survived the republic a few years.

1552–1553. An Italian Relation of England, entitled “Ritratti del Regno d'Inghilterra” is extant, which was written at this time, as it mentions the remarriage of the Duchess of Somerset (Anne Stanhope) to Francis Newdigate. It does not appear to be the work of a Venetian ambassador. Two copies of it are in the British Museum.

1552. A Relation of England was written in this year by Petruccio Ubaldini, a Florentine, who was in the service of Edward VI. In 1553 he went to Venice, but afterwards returned to England, where he died some time before the year 1600. He has left behind him a considerable number of works, both printed and in manuscript, most of which are in the British

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Museum. A copy of his Relation of England is in the British Museum, another in the Bodleian Library, and a third in the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris. A few extracts from it have been printed by Von Raumer.

1553–1554. At this time the then Venetian ambassador is on record as having been deeply engaged with the French ambassador, Noailles, in furthering Wyatt's plot. His name does not appear, nor is any Relation by him, as yet, known to exist.

1554–1557. Giovanni Michele, who came to England in the earlier part of the year 1554. In 1563 he was ambassador to Germany; in 1575 to France; and in 1587 to Aleppo. His Relations of all of these embassies are extant: that of France is printed in Tommaseo's Collection, vol. ii. p. 204.

The British Museum possesses four copies of Michele's Relation of England; of these, one is dated as having been reported to the Senate on the 3d of May, 1559; another, bearing erroneously the name of Michele Suriano, is said to have been reported on the 13th of May, 1557. The Museum also possesses two abridgments of this Relation, differing from each other. Of one of these abridgments a translation has been printed by Sir H. Ellis. (Letters, second series, vol. ii. p. 218.)

In the Bibliothèque du Roi there are ten copies of the Relation of England, from one of which some extracts have been printed by Von Raumer. (Vol. ii. p. 80.)

Dr. Lingard (Hist. vol. vii. p. 123) quotes the Relation from a copy in the Barberini Library at Rome (No. 1208), and mentions a copy in the possession of Mr. Howard, of Greystoke.

Two other copies are in the possession of Lord Calthorpe, and one in the collection of the Rev. Walter Sneyd, of Denton House, Oxon.

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In the late Mr. Heber's library there was a copy of Michele's Relation, dated 1562; and in the same library an anonymous Relation of England in Queen Elizabeth's time. Lord Calthorpe also possesses an anonymous Relation of Elizabeth's time. These may have been copies of Michele's Relation of 1557, or of that attributed to Millino.

From the information of Giovanni Michele, and of Federigo Badoaro, Venetian ambassador to Charles V., of whose Relation of his embassy the British Museum possesses three copies, a work was compiled by Giulio Raviglio Rosso, a Ferrarese, which was surreptitiously printed by the Venetian Academy in 1558, under the title of "Historia delle cose occorse nel regno d'Inghilterra, in materia del Duca di Notomberlan dopo la morte di Odoardo Sesto," with a preface by Luca Contile, addressed to Margaret of Austria, wife of Ottavio Farnese, Duke of Parma and Piacenza. The duchess was afterwards governor of the Low Countries. In 1560, there was printed at Ferrara an edition, which purports to be the original of Raviglio Rosso's work, greatly varying from the former, but having his name and a preface, in which he speaks of the Venetian edition as having been printed without his name and without his concurrence. This second edition is intituled "I successi d'Inghilterra dopo la morte di Odoardo Sesto fino alla giunta in quel regno del seren. Don Filippo d'Austria, etc. Ferrara, 1560." It is inscribed to Donna Lucretia and Donna Leonora da Este, nieces of Don Francesco da Este, by whom, the author tells them, he had been ordered, whilst ambassador at the court of Charles V. in the Low Countries, to pass over into England in order to congratulate Philip and Mary on their marriage. At the end he has printed the lengthy oration made by Alberto Lollo to the lords of the privy council on the return of England to the obedience of the apostolic see. A MS. of Raviglio

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Rosso's work is in the British Museum, and another, apparently, in the Bibliothèque du Roi.

1573–1588. In the Earl of Leicester's library at Holkham,* there is a Relation of England, attributed to Niccolò Millino, a name, however, added to the MS. in a comparatively modern hand, and which, as it is not a Venetian name, is probably intended for Molino, the writer erroneously supposing the Relation to be by him. The work is of the time of Queen Elizabeth, and written whilst the Earl of Leicester was favourite, and both Davison and Walsingham Secretaries of State. It is addressed to the Doge of Venice, and concludes with an account of the several persons who might pretend to the English crown, expressing an opinion that the Earl of Huntingdon would be the successor to Elizabeth.

No other copy of this Relation has been met with. A Relation of England, dated 1577, is in the Bibliothèque du Roi, but as it bears the name of Giovanni Michele, who was then ambassador, not in England but in France, it is probably a copy of his Relation of 1557, with a wrong date; and it has therefore been enumerated with the others of Michele in that year.

1603. June 25. Carlo Scaramelli, secretary to the Seignory, sent specially to congratulate James on his accession, and to announce the coming of two ambassadors, one of whom would continue as resident at the English court. His original credentials from Marino Grimani, then Doge, are in the British Museum.

1603. —— Badoaro and Pietro Duodo.

No Relation by either of them has been met with.

1606. A Relation of England, purporting to be of this year, by

* For all knowledge of the MSS. at Holkham I am indebted to the kindness of my friend A. Panizzi, Esq. of the British Museum.—J. H.

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the secretary of Pietro Duodo, but perhaps by Scaramelli. There are two copies in the Earl of Leicester's library at Holkham, one of which is mentioned by Roscoe in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, vol. ii. p. 372. Another was in the Earl of Guilford's library. Some parts of it are copied literally from the Relation attributed to Niccolò Millino before mentioned. It is evident that much confusion exists in the names and dates prefixed to many copies of the Relazioni.

1606. In June this year Niccolò Molino returned to Venice. He had been knighted by James I. and had received a grant of arms. He was apparently well received in this country: one of the bed rooms at Knowle in Kent, then the seat of the Earl of Dorset, is still called the Venetian Room from Molino having slept in it. A copy of his Relation, dated 1607, is in the British Museum: the first part of it is, word for word, the same with that of Michele of 1537. The latter part is suited to the time of James I. A translation of part of this Relation is in Von Raumer's Contributions, p. 461. In the Harleian Catalogue the author is absurdly called *Cardinal* instead of *Cavaliere*, and his work is described as of 1707 instead of 1607. Lord Calthorpe also possesses a copy, dated 1607.

1606, June. Giorgio Giustiniani, who came to replace Molino.

No Relation by him has been found.

1608. Antonio Correro (the same name with Cornaro, and often Latinised as Cornelius), who was again sent as ambassador in 1625.

No Relation of this embassy has been met with. Lord Calthorpe possesses a Relation of England, without date, purporting to be by *Marc Antonio Correro*. In Lord Guilford's library was a Relation purporting to be by a Contarini in 1610, and another with the same name and date is in the

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possession of Lord Calthorpe. It will be seen that Angelo Contarini was Correro's colleague in 1625.

1609-10. Although not Venetian, it may be right to mention that Cardinal Bentivoglio in this year (whilst titular archbishop of Rhodes) drew up a Relation of England, which he addressed to Cardinal Borghese, nephew of Pope Paul V. and secretary of state. This Relation is printed amongst the cardinal's works.

1610-1615. Antonio Foscarini. Foscarini was a rare instance of a Venetian ambassador remaining more than three years, the usual time allowed. He resided in England between five and six years. In 1593 he had been ambassador in France.

No Relation by him has been found. In May, 1622, Foscarini was strangled by order of the Council of Ten for having communicated secrets to the Countess of Arundel. The cause of his death, however, has been variously stated, and it has been the subject of a tragedy. In the British Museum there is a memoir on the subject of the Countess of Arundel.

1613. Giovanni Francesco Biondi. A letter from Domenico Molino to Isaac Casaubon in his favour, dated 19 Aug. 1613, is in the British Museum. His was probably a special mission. No Relation by him is known.

1615. Giorgio Barbarigo, who came in the place of Foscarini. He died in London 27 May, 1616. No Relation by him has been found.

1617. —— Contarini. (See 1608 and 1626.)

1618. Antonio Donato, who came to England on the 17th of October, and had an audience of James on the 1st of November. He was nephew of the Doge Niccolò Donato. For his intrigues he was twice banished by James; once from the verge of the court, and afterwards from London: "which," says Sir Henry Wotton, "was as much as could be done with preservation of national immunities." He was after-

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wards found guilty of embezzling, whilst ambassador at Turin, part of the subsidy paid by Venice to the Duke of Savoy in order to carry on the war with Spain. On the 19th July, 1619, Donato was degraded and condemned to be hanged. No Relation by him is known.

1620-1622. Girolamo Landi. He left England 24th June, 1622. No Relation known.

1622. [Alvise?] Valaresso arrived in June, when he was formally received by William Lord Cavendish, afterwards second Earl of Devonshire. His Relation is in the *Bibliothèque du Roi*, and is mentioned by Von Raumer. (Pol. Hist. i. 462, and Letters, ii. 279.)

1625. Antonio Correro and Angelo Contarini, sent as ambassadors extraordinary to congratulate Charles I. on his accession.

Correro had been previously in England in 1608. Contarini was afterwards sent, in 1629, to Pope Urban VIII., in 1634 to France, and, in 1637, as ambassador extraordinary to the Emperor Ferdinand III.

No Relation of England by them is known to exist, nor perhaps, theirs being a special mission, did they write one. A diary by Ottobone, who accompanied them, describing their journeys to and from Venice and their stay in England, is in the collection of the Reverend Walter Sneyd.

1625-1626. Giovanni Pesaro. No Relation of England by him is known. He had been shortly before ambassador at Paris, and he was ambassador to Rome in 1655 : of his Relation of Rome the British Museum possesses three copies. In 1657 he was elected Doge of Venice.

1626-1629. Alvise Contarini, who was knighted, and had a grant of arms by letters patent, 20 July 1629. Whilst he was in England, in 1628, a portrait of him was engraved by Luke Vosterman. A considerable portion of his life was passed in the diplomatic service of Venice. On leaving England in

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1629 he was sent ambassador in ordinary to Paris, and from thence, in 1632, to Rome. In 1638 he was bailo at Constantinople, where, during a short rupture between the Turks and the Venetians, he was imprisoned by the Caimakan. In 1643 he was named as one of the mediators at the Congress of Munster, and in that capacity he was present at no fewer than eight hundred conferences. Many of these, however, related to matters of precedence and form, whereon nearly the whole of the first year of the Congress was spent, and of which one effect still remains, viz. the title of "Excellency" now allowed to ambassadors in general, and then first claimed by the French negociators, Claude de Mesme, Comte d'Avaux, and Abel Servien, Marquis de Sablé. See something of Contarini's dispute with d'Avaux, as to how far one should attend the other to his coach, in the Quarterly Review for Oct. 1837, art. Etiquette. In 1676 Contarini was elected Doge.

In Mr. Heber's library there was a Relation of England, bearing the name of Contarini, but without date; nor is it certain whether the author was Alvise Contarini or Angelo Contarini before mentioned. A copy of Alvise Contarini's Relation of the Peace of Munster, dated however in 1678, is in the British Museum.

1641. A Venetian ambassador was resident in London, whose name does not appear, but who refused to recognise the ambassadors of Portugal, and who disputed with the envoy of the United Provinces on the much vexed question of precedence.

1655-1657. Giovanni Sagredo, ambassador extraordinary.

A copy of his Relation is in the Earl of Leicester's library at Holkham. He says in it that he was the first Venetian ambassador after the extinction of royalty. Another copy was in Mr. Heber's library; and a third copy, which belonged



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to Mr. B. H. Bright, is now in the possession of Sir Thomas Phillipps. After his embassy to England Sagredo was sent to Rome, and his Relation of that embassy is in the British Museum. In 1664 he was sent to Germany, and his Relation of his embassy there is extant. The original has not been printed, but a French translation was printed in 1670 and an English translation shortly afterwards. In 1676 he was elected Doge, after the death of his brother Niccolò Sagredo, but the election was annulled and Alvise Contarini chosen.

1661, April. —— Giavarina, sent to attend the coronation of Charles II.

1668-1671. Pietro Mocenigo, of whose entry into London, 17 Sept. 1668, an account is given in Evelyn's Diary, vol. ii. p. 304, 8vo. ed.

A copy of his Relation is in the British Museum. He says in it that he was the first Venetian ambassador to Charles II. Another copy is in the Earl of Leicester's library at Holkham, and a third copy was in Mr. Heber's possession. In 1675 Mocenigo was ambassador at Rome, and of his Relation the British Museum possesses three copies. Two others are in the Bibliothèque du Roi.

1680-1681. Girolamo Vignola. His original credentials from the Doge Alvise Contarini are in the British Museum. No Relation by him is known.

1685. —— Zeno and —— Giustiniani made their public entry into London on the 15th December.

1686. —— Zarotti, as Venetian ambassador, had audience of the Queen Dowager on the 24th of June.

1696. Lorenzo Soranzo and Girolamo Veniero, who left Venice on the 1st of February, arrived in London on the 11th of April, and on the 28th made their public entry, of which an account may be seen in Evelyn's Diary, vol. iii. p. 351.

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A copy of their Relation was in Mr. Heber's library. An account of their embassy, written by the Padre Vincenzo Coronelli, who accompanied them, is in the collection of the Rev. Walter Sneyd. Soranzo's dispatches, whilst bailo at Constantinople in 1699–1704, are in the British Museum. Veniero had been ambassador in France in 1689, and his Relation of that embassy is in the British Museum.

1706–1708. Francesco Cornaro, who made his public entry into London 23 April, 1706. A fine portrait of him has been engraved. No Relation by him is known.

1732. Giovanni Domenico Imberti. His original credentials from the Doge Carlo Ruzini, dat. 18 Sept. are in the British Museum.

1745–1746. Pietro Andrea Capello, who in 1738 had been ambassador to Spain. His Relation of that country is in the British Museum, but no Relation of England by him is known.

1754. Alessandro Zeno. No Relation of England by him is known. A Relation by him of his previous embassy to France in 1737 is in the British Museum.

1763. — Querini and Francesco Morosini. See the London Gazettes of 21 and 30 April. Morosini had been ambassador in Spain in 1747, and his Relation of Spain is in the British Museum."

A RELATION, OR RATHER A TRUE ACCOUNT, OF THE ISLAND OF ENGLAND; WITH SUNDRY PARTICULARS OF THE CUSTOMS OF THESE PEOPLE, AND OF THE ROYAL REVENUES UNDER KING HENRY THE SEVENTH. ABOUT THE YEAR 1500.

Magnificent and most illustrious Lord!

The Kingdom of England is situated in the island named Britain, which, as your Magnificence has seen, is in the Ocean, between the north and the west. Her form is triangular, like that of Sicily, and she lies, though at a considerable distance, over against Germany, France, and Spain; Germany being opposite to her to the north, France to the east and south, and Spain to the south, a little to the west; but the boundaries to the actual north, i. e. without anything intervening, are the Orcades islands, which, it is said, are one hundred and eighty in number; and Ireland would be the real boundary to the west, were it not for the Menanian isles, two of which are named Man and Anglesey; but these are so small that Ireland may fairly be called the western boundary of Britain.

RELATIONE O PIÙ TOSTO RAGUAGLIO DELL' ISOLA D' INGHILTERRA; CON PIU
PARTICOLARI E COSTUMI DI QUELLI POPOLI, ET DELL' ENTRATE REGIE
SOTTO IL RE HENRICO VII. CHE FU CIRCA L' ANNO M.D.

Mag^{co} et Clar^{mo} Sig^r mio.

Il regno d' Inghilterra è posto nell' Isola chiamata Britannia, la quale è sita nell' Oceano tra settentrione e l' occidente, come v^{ra} Magn^{tia} h^a veduto: la sua forma è triangolare, come quella di Sicilia, e giace allo opposto, benchè molto lontana, della Germanica, Gallia, e Spagna, essendogli obietta da settentrione la Germanica, da oriente e mezzo giorno la Gallia, da mezzo

giorno et al quanto da l' occidente la Spagna; benchè al vero settentrione, ciò è senza alcuno mezzo, sono a confine l' Isole Orcade, le quali s' intende che sono cento et ottanta; et dal vero occidente confineria la Ibernia, se non fossero interposte l' Isolette Menanici, delle quali due sono nominate Man et Anglesia: ma pure sono tanto picciole, che si può dire la Ibernia essere alla parte occidentale della Britannia.

I cannot say what the circumference of this island is, because the Islanders of our day do not care to understand such matters, and I find that writers differ on the subject. Julius Cæsar, counting the three sides of the island, sets it at 2000 miles ; Bede, an English priest who had read the Commentaries, at 3600 miles. There is also another difference in their statements ; Cæsar affirming that the shortest way to cross from the Continent to Britain is 30 miles, and Bede calling it 50 ; and, as all the navigators of our time say that from Calais, a town in Picardy, which according to my opinion is the Portus Icarius of Cæsar, to Dobla (Dover), a place in Britain, where the passage is the shortest, it is 30 miles, I believe both measurements to be correct, but that the computation of Cæsar, which agrees with that of the present day, was, together with other things, altered when Bede wrote, which was about the year of grace 731, and this may also be the case with the circumference of the Island.

The climate, as your Magnificence knows, is very healthy, and free from many complaints with which the island (Italy ?) is afflicted (1); and, though so far to the north-west, the cold in winter is much less severe than in Italy, and the heat proportionably less in summer. This is owing to the rain, which falls almost every day during the

Non saprei dire quanto si circondi detta Isola, perchè gl' Isolani dell' età nostra non procurano d' intendere tal cosa, e nelli scrittori trovo cōtroversia ; Julio Cesare calculando li 3 lati dell' Isola dice che la circonda due migliara di miglia ; Beda, prete Inglese, che haveva letto li Commentarij, scrive che la circonda 3000 et 600 miglia : Et hanno fra loro un altra differenza, che Cesare afferma, dove il cammino è più corto a passare di Terra ferma in Britannia, sieno 30 miglia, e Beda mette, che lo sieno 50 ; E perchè tutti li Naviganti del nostro tempo dicono, che da Cales, che secondo l' opinione mia da Cesare è nomi-

nato Porto Ieio, luogo di Piccardia, a Dobla luogo di Britannia, dove il passagio è breviss^{mo}, sono 30 miglia : tamen credo che l' una misura, e l' altra sia vera, ma che la computazione di Cesare conveniente a quella del tempo nostro fosse alterata insieme con le altre cose, quando Beda scriveva, che fù circa l' anno di gratia 731 : E così può essere ancora il circuito dell' Isola.

L'aere, come sà V. Magnific^a, è molto salubre, e manca di molte egritudini, della quale l' Isola è tribolata ; e ben che la sia in tanta estremità dell' occidente e settentrione, pure l' Inverno ha freddi assai minori, che l' Italia, et la state etiam ha minor

months of June, July, and August (2) ; they have never any spring here, according to the report of the Islanders. In addition to this equality of temperature, they have, as I have read, and which has been confirmed to me by the inhabitants themselves, a great abundance of large rivers, springs, and streams, in which are found every species of Italian fish, excepting however, carp, tench, and perch (3) ; but on the other hand they have a quantity of salmon, a most delicate fish, which they seem to hold in great estimation, because these people greatly prefer sea-fish ; of which, indeed, they have many more than we have. Nor are they without springs of hot water, wholesome and salutary for various disorders. They abound also in every description of tree, though, according to Cæsar, they have not the beech, or the fir. They have laurels, and myrtles, and all our fruit trees, with the exception, however, of the olive, and the class of the orange. They are not without vines (4) ; and I have eaten ripe grapes from one, and wine might be made in the southern parts, but it would probably be harsh. This natural deficiency of the country is supplied by a great quantity of excellent wines from Candia, Germany, France, and Spain ; besides which, the common people make two beverages from wheat, barley, and oats, one of which is called beer, and the

caldi : è questo è per rispetto delle pioggie, che cadono quasi ogni giorno li mesi di Guigno, Luglio, et Agosto ; ne mai hanno primavera secondo che raccontano gl'Isolani. A tanta temperie è congiunto, per quanto io hò letto, et da gl' habitanti medesimi m' è stato confirmato, gran copia di grossi fiumi, fonti, et rivi, né i quali nascono tutti le spetie di Pesci Italici, ma nō però carpioni, o temoli, ne persici, ma all' incontro hanno molti salmoni, pesci delicatissimi dell'i quali ne fanno grande stima, per quanto dimostrano, perchè più si dilettano quei popoli de pesci marini, de quali in verità hanno maggior copia di noi : Ne li

mancano fontane d' acque calde, buone e salutifere a diverse infirmità : Abbondano etiam dio d'ogni sorte d'alberi ; ma come scrive Cesare non patiscono fago et abietto : hanno lauri, e mirti, et ogni nostra pianta fruttifera, eccetto però l' olive e spetie di naranci : Non sono senza viti : Et io hò gustato dell' una matura, et in le parti australi fariano del vino, ma saria forse austero. Ma alla naturale desidia del paese sopravinge gran copia d' ottimi vini Candiotti, di Germania, di Francia, e Spagna : se bene i paesani fanno due bevande di frumento, orgo, e vena : l' una delle quale è nominata *Birra*, et l' altra *Ala*, e tale be-

other ale (5) ; and these liquors are much liked by them, nor are they disliked by foreigners, after they have drank them four or six times ; they are most agreeable to the palate, when a person is by some chance rather heated.

Agriculture is not practised in this island beyond what is required for the consumption of the people ; because were they to plough and sow all the land that was capable of cultivation, they might sell a quantity of grain to the surrounding countries. This negligence is, however, atoned for, by an immense profusion of every comestible animal, such as stags, goats, fallow-deer, hares, rabbits, pigs, and an infinity of oxen, which have much larger horns than ours, which proves the mildness of the climate, as horns cannot bear excessive cold ; whence, according to Strabo, in some northern countries, the cattle are without horns. But above all, they have an enormous number of sheep, (6) which yield them quantities of wool of the best quality. They have no wolves, (7) because they would, immediately, be hunted down by the people ; it is said, however, that they still exist in Scotland, as well as in the forest of Caledonia at the extremity of the island, towards the north. Common fowls, pea-fowls, partridges, pheasants, (8) and other small birds abound here above measure, and it is truly a

vanda molte piace loro, ne meno dispiace a forestieri, quando però n' habbino bevuto quattro o sei volte ; e questa è assai più grata al gusto, quando l' huomo per qualche accidente è alquanto riscaldato.

L'Agricoltura in quell' Isola non è esercitata se non tanto quanto basta al mangiare et al bevere de paesani, perchè volendo arare e seminare quello che potranno, havrebbono grano in quantità da vendere alle circunstanti regioni : Ma tanta negligentia viene aiutata da una grandiss^{ma} abundantia d' ogni animale commestibile, come sono cervi, caprioli, daini, lepori, conigli, porci, et una infinità di bovi, li quali hanno maggior corni assai

che li nostri ; dal che si comprende l' Isola essere temperata, imperò che il corno nō tollera freddo eccessivo ; e per questo in alcuni parti aquilonari, secondo mette Strabone, sono li bovi senza corni : Ma sopra tutto hanno grandiss^a quantità di pecore, delle quali cavano infinità et ottima qualità di lana : Non vi hanno lupi, perchè immediate popolarm^e sariano perseguitati ; pure si dice che ne sono in Scotia, et così nella silva Calydonia all'estremo dell' Isola verso il settētrione. Di galline, pannoni, pernice, fagiani, et altri uccelletti minuti abondano sopra modo, et certi è bella cosa vedere 1000 et 2000 cigni man-

beautiful thing to behold one or two thousand tame swans (9) upon the river Thames, as I, and also your Magnificence have seen, which are eaten by the English like ducks and geese. Nor do they dislike what we so much abominare, i. e. crows, rooks, and jackdaws ; and the raven may croak at his pleasure, for no one cares for the omen ; there is even a penalty attached to destroying them, as they say that they keep the streets of the towns free from all filth.

It is the same case with the kites, (10) which are so tame, that they often take out of the hands of little children, the bread smeared with butter, in the Flemish fashion, given to them by their mothers. And although this is general throughout the island, it is more observed in the kingdom of England, than elsewhere.

This island also produces a quantity of iron and silver, and an infinity of lead and tin ; (11) of the latter, which is of the purest quality, they make vessels as brilliant as if they were of fine silver ; and these are held in great estimation.

A certain shell fish is taken in the sea, called by the inhabitants *Muscles*, in which many, though small, pearls are found ; and I myself, dining one morning (12) with the Milanese Ambassador, discovered several ; but, as I have said, they were very minute, and not round like oriental pearls.

sueti e domestici nel fiume Tamisa, come
hò veduto io, et anco V. Mag^{tia}, li quali
dalli Inglesi sono mangiati come le oche,
et anibe. Non hanno ancora in dispiacer
quelli, che tanto habominamo, ciò è corvi,
taccole, e cornacchie : E canti pure il corvo
a suo piacere, che niuno stima l' Augurio ;
anzi e constituita pena à chi n' ammazasse
alcuno, perchè dicono che tengono nette le
strade delle città d' ogni immonditià.

Il simile si fà de nibbij, li quali vi sono
tanto famigliari, che bene spesso levano di
mano i fanciulletti piccioli il pane dato loro
per le madri unto di butiro alla fiammanga :

E ben che questo sia comune a tutta l' Isola,
pure è più osservato nel Regno d' Inghilterra,
che in altra parte.

Nasce ancora in detta Isola ferro et ar-
gento assai, piombo e stagno infinito ; Et
di quel puriss^{mo} stagno fanno vasi non
manco lucidi che se fossero di fino argento :
e questi sono di grande stima.

Si prendono in mare certe conche, dette
da gl' habitanti muscelle, nelle quali si
trovano assai perle, ma minute : Et io desi-
nando una mattina cō il Rettore Milanese
ne ho trovato molte, ma come hò detto sono
assài minute, et non ronde come le Orientale.

I believe that what has been written concerning the extreme shortness of the nights in summer is true ; for many persons of veracity tell me, and assure me that it is a positive fact, that at the farthest extremity of Scotland, at the time of the summer solstice, one may see to read and write at any hour of the night, (13) and that the days in winter are short in the same proportion. But this cannot be the case all over the island, because during the whole winter that I found myself there with your Magnificence, I observed the length of the daylight with great attention, and there were never less than seven hours together, in which one could see to read and write. How many hours the sun might be above the horizon, however, I cannot say, he is so rarely to be seen in the winter, and never but at mid-day : but our Italian merchants say, that in London also, the nights in summer are much shorter than the days in winter ; and as London, where your Lordship resided, is a place in the south of the island, and more than 600 miles from the highest point of Scotland, the nights there may possibly be much shorter ; but English authors never touch upon these subjects.

The form of the island is triangular, as we have said before, and it is divided into three parts, thus : Scotland, Wales, and England.

Credo che sia vero quello, che scrivono gl' autori delle brevissime notti estive, perciò che molti huomini da bene mi dicono, e mi affermano per cosa certa, che nell' ultima Scotia al tempo del solstizio estivo à qualunque hora di notte si sia si può leggere, e scrivere ; et che così li giorni brumali corrispondono alle notti estive : Ma questo non può già essere in tutta l' Iscla, perchè tutto l' inverno, ch' io mi trovai là con V^{ra} Mag^{tia} osservai con molta diligentia la quantità del giorno, il quale non fù mai, che sette hore continue, che non si potesse leggere, e scrivere : Ma non però posso dire quanto che stia il sole sopra la terra, perchè

l' invernata vi appare di rado, et solamente circa il mezo giorno : pure li nostri mercanti Italiani dicano, che ancora in Londra le notti estivi sono assai più brevi che li giorni hiemali : E perchè da Londra, che è luogo australe dell' Isola, dove è stata la Sig^{ra} V^{ra}, fino alla sommità della Scotia, sono più di 600 miglia, è possibile adunque quelle notti di Londra essere assai più corte ; tamen gl' autori Anglici di tal cosa non parlano.

La forma dell' Isola è triangolare, come habbiamo detto, et così è divisa in 3 parti : Scotia, Wallia, et Inghilterra.

La Scotia è posta al settentrione, et è separata da l' Inghilterra per due braccj



Scotland lies to the north, and is separated from England by two arms of the sea, which penetrate very far inland, one to the east, and the other to the west. These do not, however, meet, for there is about 60 miles of mountainous country between them ; and there are some who say that two rivers rise in these mountains, one of which falls into the eastern, and the other into the western sea. And as the tide rises and ebbs every six hours with great vehemence, and affects these rivers throughout their course, it is the common opinion that they themselves are the two arms of the sea. This is the modern opinion, for Bede does not positively say so.

Wales is in the western part of the island, and wherever it is not surrounded by the sea, it is bounded by England ; from which it is separated to the north, by a river called by these inhabitants *Da* (the *Dee*) and to the south by another named *Offa*. (14)

All the rest, which comprises the most beautiful, the best, and the most fertile part of the whole island, is called England.

I should not have ventured to speak of Scotland, had I not, during my stay in London, fallen in with my very particular friend, the most worshipful Don Peter de Ayala, who had lived there for

marini, li quali per grande spatio entrano nell' Isola ; l' uno da la parte dell' oriente, et l' altro da l' occidente: ma non però che li d^{ti} due bracci si conguinglino insieme, ma nel mezzo tra l' uno et l' altro braccio sono da 60 miglia di paese montano, et alcuni vi sono, che dicano, che da questi monti nascono due fiumi ; delli quali l' uno va, e sbocca nel mare orientale, et l' altro nello occidentale : E perchè l' oceano ogni sei hore con gran forza cresce e discersece, et per il lungo spatio monta in questi fiumi : è l' opinione comune però, che li detti sieno li due bracci marini : E questa è opinione de moderni, perchè Beda non dice resolutamente che sieno bracci marini.

Wallia è posta nell' occidente dell' Isola, et da ogni banda, dove non sia il mare, è circondata da l' Inghilterra : ma dalla parte settentrionale è separata par l' interventione d' un fiume chiamato da quelli habitatori *Da*, et dalle parte meridiane da un altro, che è nominato *Offa*.

Tutto il resto, che è il più bello, il migliore, et il più fruttifero di tutta l' Isola, si chiama Inghilterra.

Io non mi consideria di parlare della Scotia, se in Londra non mi fosse sopravvenuto il Reverend^{mo} Don Pietro de Ayala mio amiciss^{mo}. Il quale è dimorato in Scotia più d' un anno oratore delli Cattolici Reali di Spagna à presso à quella corona, il quale

above a year, as ambassador from their Catholic Majesties of Spain to that crown, and had by his prudence and dexterity, during the time of the residence of your Magnificence, contracted a solid peace between the most sapient Henry the Seventh, King of England, and the magnanimous James the Fourth, King of Scotland; (15) for which service, as he related to your Lordship, he received at the end of four or five days from that most serene English King, 300 nobles, *neither seen nor counted by him*; (16) as, if I remember right, your Magnificence said. And here I must mention, that if I should state anything concerning Scotland, which your Lordship should not believe on *my* report, I appeal to the authority of the aforesaid most worshipful Don Peter, from whom, by means of the friendship I formed with his Secretary, M. Passamonte, in London, I collected many particulars: and amongst others, that the kingdom of Scotland is very rainy; and that the country, wherever there are no mountains (which are of the most rugged description, and almost uninhabitable), is the most fertile of the whole island; that the royal family is so ancient, that there is no mention in history of any but the present race; and that the people are very handsome, and are divided into two classes, one of which inhabits the towns, and the other the country.

con la prudenza et desterità sua contrasse nel tempo che V. Magnif^a si trovò là, buona pace tra lo sapientiss^{mo} Henrico vij. Re d' Inghilterra, et il magnanimo Jacobo iiiij. Re di Scotia, per la quale, come egli referette à V. Sigria ricevette da quel ser^{mo} Anglicano Re 300 nobeli da lui non veduti ne numerati, in capo di quattro ò vero cinque giorni, per quanto, v^{ra} Magnif^a se ben mi ricordo, disse.

E questo dico, che se io dicessi della detta Scotia qualche cosa, alla quale V. S. per ridirgliela io, nō gli attribuisse fede, gli adduco però in testimonio il detto Reverend^{mo} Don Pietro, dal quale per l' amicitia

contratta con il suo segretario Messer Passamonte nella città di Londra hò inteso molte cose: Et tra l' altre, che il Regno di Scotia è abundantiss^{mo} di pioggia, et che donde non sono montagne, che però ce ne sono delle asprissime, et quasi inhabitabili, è lo più grasso paese di tutta l' Isola; E che la Progenie Regia è tanto antica, che in nessuna loro scrittura si fà menzione, se non del presente sangue Reale: E che la gente del paese è belliss^{ma}, ma che è di due maniere: l' una delle quali habita nelle città, e l' altra alle campagne.

Li campestri sono chiamati Scoti salvatici, non già perchè sono incivili, anzi sono cos-

The inhabitants of the country are called the wild or savage Scots, (17) not however from the rudeness of their manners, which are extremely courteous. The nobility reside on their estates, where they have generally great forests for hunting game. They have excellent houses, built for the most part, in the Italian manner, of hewn stone or brick, with magnificent rooms, halls, doors, galleries, chimneys, and windows. (18) These savages are great soldiers, and when they go to war, the privilege of guarding the king's royal person belongs to them.

The other class is composed of citizens and burgesses, who are devoted to mercantile pursuits, and to the other useful and mechanical arts.

Don Peter also says that all the Scotch nation are extremely partial to foreigners, and very hospitable, (19) and that they all consider that there is no higher duty in the world than to love and defend their crown. And that whenever the King is pleased to go to war, he can raise, without any prejudice to the country, 50, or 60,000 men, who, being suddenly called together, with their rich and handsome equipments, serve at their own expense for the space of 30 days; and if the war should continue beyond that time, they are dismissed, having previously been replaced by

tumatiss^{mi}. Et li nobili del Regno habitano le possessioni loro, le quali sono per l' ordinario congiunte con molti selve per rispetto delle cacciagioni: Tutta via hanno ottimi case, fabricate per la maggior parte all' Italiana di sassi quadrati, ò vero mattoni, con belliss^e camere, sale, porte, loggie, cammini, e finestre: E questi salvatici sono grandi guerrieri, e quando vanno alla guerra, à loro tocca havere in guardia la Persona Regia.

Gli altri sono cittadini, e borghesi, i quali sono intenti alla mercatura, et a gli altri esercitij manuali e mecanici.

Dice ancora Don Pietro, che tutta la gente Scoticana è assai amatrice de forestieri, et molto hospitale, e tutti stimano, che al mondo non habbino maggior oblico, che amare et difendere la corona: E che sempre che al Re piace di guerreggiare, metterà insieme senza dar travaglio alcuno al paese 50 et 60 mila huomini, li quali con loro belle e ricche trabaçche subito congregatichi insieme servano a proprie spese lo spatio di 30 giorni; et durando più tempo la guerra, avanti che li primi si partino, ne sopragiungono altro tanti: E che quel paese, che non fosse chiamato alla guerra, si stimeria che

another force of equal magnitude ; that any who are not summoned to take part in the war, would consider themselves to be slighted, and under the displeasure of the King ; and that the population is so great, that, should a larger army be required, it could at any time be obtained. (20) Don Peter himself told me that he had seen them several times in the field, and that he never saw anything better appointed. This power, however, is never exercised but against the English, their natural enemies, as is commonly the case with near neighbours. Although I have found frequent mention in the histories of England, of sundry kings of Scotland having paid homage to some of the kings of England, and notwithstanding that the Scotch do possess a particle of land (in England) *i. e.* they have passed the limits of the two arms of the sea, before named, yet at this present time they do not think of paying any homage to the king of England ; (21) and I imagine that when this was the case, it was not because that ferocious Scotch nation was ever in subjection to the English, but because, when all the Danes were expelled from England in the year of grace 943, by King Edward, son of King Edward the Elder, excepting from that part which borders upon Scotland, he, accounting that those Danes who were already become northern English, were indomable, made over the whole of that territory in commendam to Malcolm, King of Scot-

il suo Re non l' amasse, ne facesse alcun conto di lui : E che se il Re ne vuole maggior numero, gli può sempre havere, per l' innumerato multitudine delle genti : E dicemli Don Pietro istesso haverlo più volte veduto in campo, ne che mai più vidde cosa meglio ordinata : Tanta potentia non è mai esercitata, se nō contra gl' Inglesi loro naturali inimici, come è usanza de vicini : Imperò che in molti luoghi io ritrovo scritto nell' istorie d'Inghilterra, che diversi Re di Scotia hanno giurato homaggio ad alcuni Re d' Inghilterra ; et nondimeno li Scotti ne possedono una particella, ciò è che hanno

passato la metà dell' 2 bracci marittimi di sopra narrati : Ma in questa età li Scotti non pensano di fare homaggio alcuno al Re d' Inghilterra : Et io giudico, che questo intervenga non perchè quella ferociss^{ma} gente Scota fosse mai alli Inglesi suggetta, ma perchè nell' anno di gratia 943 il Re Odoardo figliolo del Re Odoardo vecchio scacciò dell' Inghilterra tutti li Danij, ecetto da quella parte, che confina con la Scotia, e ponendo quelli Danij già fatti Inglesi Boreali fossino indomabili, dette quel paese in commenda à Malcolino Re di Scotia, come sè havesse detto di dargli in

land, as though he would give them into the power of a people still fiercer than themselves ; and it is probable, that he or his descendants may have done homage to the King of England for this portion of land, which was then occupied by the said Danes. But however this may be, all the English chroniclers insist that their King is the supreme Lord of Scotland, and that they have changed the Kings of Scotland at their pleasure ; and the Scotch, on the other hand, pride themselves on having always repulsed the English, and on having once more regained possession of their country. But to counterbalance this, the English possess beyond the eastern arm of the sea, named Tivida (the Tweed) in the kingdom of Scotland, the singular fortress of Berwick, which, after having belonged for a considerable time to each kingdom alternately, and at length had fallen into the hands of the Scotch, was made over to king Edward the Fourth, by the Duke of Albany, who was at war with his brother, James the Third, king of Scotland. And now king Henry the Seventh has built a magnificent bridge ~~✓~~ ~~X~~ across the aforesaid arm of the sea, and as he has the command of all the eastern coast, he can throw as many troops as he pleases into the town, which is a very strong place both by nature and art. (22) And as this Berwick has caused the death of many thousand men

possanza di gente più fiera di loro : et è credibile, che à Malcolino, à suoi discendenti giurassero homaggio al Re d'Inghilterra per quel terreno che era occupato alhora da i detti Danij : Ma comunque si sia tutte le chroniche dell' Inghilterra dicono, che il Re loro è supremo signore della Scotia, et che à suo piacimento ha mutato li Re di Scotia : Et li Scotti al rinecontro si gloriano di haver sempre ributtato gl' Inglesi, e di nuovo possedere la terra loro : Ma per rinccontro di questo gl' Inglesi possedono di là dal braccio marino orientale nominato Tivida nel Regno di Scotia la singulare fortezza di Baruico, la quale essendo per

lungo tempo posseduta hora da l' uno, et hora da l' altro, et infine capitata in mano delli Scotti, il duca d' Albania, fratello di Jacopo 3º Re di Scotia, che guerreggiava con suo fratello la dette in possanza del Re Odoardo 4º. Et hora il Re Henrico vij. ha fatto un bellissimo ponte sopra detto braccio marino, et andando sempre sul paese suo à canto al mare orientale, manda tutta la gente, che gli piace in Baruico, luogo munitissimo per natura e per arte ; et secondo che per li tempi passati questo Baruico hà causata la morte d' infinite migliara d' huomini, così faria di presente ancora, se non fosse la pace seguita per il mezzo del

in former times, so it might do so again, were it not for the peace consolidated by means of the wise Don Peter de Ayala. Although the English historians assert that Man, one of the Menanian isles, as it was before said, belongs to the kingdom of Scotland, it is nevertheless in the possession of the King of England. But the King of Scotland is lord of all the Orcades, several of which have been conquered by the present king, who derives a great, or rather an incalculable profit from them; howbeit, the kingdom of Scotland is very poor in comparison with England. It has 15 bishopricks, two of which are arch-bishopricks. (23)

The language of the Scotch is the same as that of the Irish, and very different from the English; but many of the Scotch people speak English extremely well, in consequence of the intercourse they have with each other on the borders.

Wales, the second and smallest partition of the island, is bounded by rivers, as aforesaid, and is very mountainous, some of which are clothed in perpetual snow; and, although formerly possessed of seven bishopricks, she has now only four. (24)

The inhabitants of this country attend to agriculture only so far as is necessary for their subsistence. They take great delight in large herds of cattle, and most of them live upon the produce of

D^{to} Don Pietro d' Ayala: E ben che le scritture Inglese voglino che Man, una dell' Isole Menanici, come si è detta, perenga al Regno di Scotia, nondimeno quella è posseduta dal Re d' Inghilterra: Et il Re di Scotia signoreggia tutte le Isole Orcade, de le quali il presente Re ne ha conquistate molte, cavandone grande, anzi inestimabile frutto, quantunque in comparatione dell' Inghilterra, il Regno di Scotia sia molto povero: Il quale ha xv. Vesconadi, delli quali due sono Arcivesconadi.

Il parlare delli Scozzesi e tutt' uno con quello dell' Ibernia, molto diverso dallo Inglese, quantunque molti Scozzesi parlino

beniss^{mo} la lingua Inglese, per il commercio che hāno a cōfini l' uno con l' altro.

Wallia, la seconda e la minore parte dell' Isola, è terminata da fiumi, e fosse antedetta, et è tutta montuosa, sopra alcuni de quali sono perpetue le nevi, et benchè anticam^{te} havesse vij Vesconadi, al presente non ne ha più che iiiij.

Attendono gl' habitori di questa alla Agricoltura quanto basta loro per fare il pane, et la bevanda necessaria. Si dilettano molto delli armenti, et la maggior parte di loro vivono di latticinij. Non habitono in terre grosse, ma alla campagna separatam^{te}. Et pure vi sono Baroni, che hanno qualche

their dairies. (25) They do not dwell together in large towns, but separately, in the country. There are, however, some Barons who have fortified castles. The Welsh people are generally supposed to have been the original inhabitants of the island, and they themselves say, and it is also believed by the English, that they are descended from the Trojans ; (26) and they all consider themselves to be gentlemen, and call each other “ *Cosaio*,” a word in their language which bears that meaning ; nor would they on any account intermarry with the English, of whom they are the most mortal enemies. (27) Their language is different from both the English and the Scotch.

Wales was formerly a separate kingdom, and never was without her own king or prince till the time of Edward the Third (First ?) king of England, who lived in the year of grace 1267, (28) and if the renowned Arthur ever existed at all, it was in this country, according to what I have read in English histories ; but in the reign of Edward the Third they were reduced to the dominion of the English, as they remain at present, and the eldest son of the King of England has, from that time, been called the Prince of Wales. They may now, however, be said to have recovered their former independence, for the most wise and fortunate Henry the 7th is a Welshman, as I shall relate in its proper place ; and, as

castello in fortezza. Gli habitatori di Wallia per comune giuditio sono li primi huomini che habitorno l' Isola, come da loro vien detto, et da gl' Inglesi è creduto, che essi sieno discesi da Troia ; e tutti si reputano Gentilhomini, et si chiamano l' un l' altro *Cosaio*, che nella loro lingua altro non vuole significare : ne per cosa del mondo contrarriano matrimonio con Inglesi, che quali sono mortaliss^{mi} nemici. Hanno questi lingua diversa da la Inglese, et dalla Scozzese.

Fu già Wallia un Regno separato, ne a quella gente mancò mai ne Re ne Prencipe

fino al tempo d' Odoardo 3^o Re d'Inghilterra, il quale visse l'anno di gratia 1267 : E se il tanto nominato Arturo fù mai al mondo, fù egli in questo paese, per quanto hò letto nelle Istorie Inglese : Ma al tempo del d^{lo} Odoardo 3^o furno, si come sono al presente, ridotti in servitù dalli Inglesi, et il primo figliolo del Re d'Inghilterra da l' hora in quà vien nominato Principe di Wallia, quantunque possino dire d' havere recuperata l' antica loro signoria, perchè il sapientiss^{mo} e fortunatiss^{mo} Henrico vij^o è Wallico, si come iò narrerò à suo luogo, e secondo che l' Isoletta Man ap-

the Isle of Man appertains to Scotland, so does Anglesey to Wales ; which latter island is so fertile and productive, that she is called by these people “ the Mother of Wales ” ; she now belongs to the King of England. (29)

Although England is mentioned as the third part of the whole island, she alone is larger and richer than both the others, and every thing that I find the island produces, is yielded in most abundance there. This third division is all diversified by pleasant undulating hills, and beautiful valleys, nothing being to be seen but agreeable woods, or extensive meadows, or lands in cultivation ; and the greatest plenty of water springing everywhere.

England was formerly divided into seven kingdoms ; but from various accidents, one royal family failing after another, she at length became reduced to one kingdom only.

The English are, for the most part, both men and women of all ages, handsome and well-proportioned ; though not quite so much so, in my opinion, as it had been asserted to me, before your Magnificence went to that kingdom ; and I have understood from persons acquainted with these countries, that the Scotch are much handsomer ; and that the English are great lovers of themselves, and of everything belonging to them ; they think that there are no

partiene alla Scotia, così Anglesia appartiene a Wallia, la quale è tanta feconda, et abondante d' ogni bene, che viene chiamata da quei popoli la Madre di Wallia, et è posseduta al presente dal Re d'Inghilterra.

Quantunque l' Inghilterra sia nominata per la terza parte di tutta l' Isola, pure lei sola è la maggiore, et la migliore di tutte l' altre, e tutti li beni, che io ritrovo nascere nell' Isola, nascono in maggior abondantia in Inghilterra : La quale terza parte è tutta distinta in picciole, e piacevole collinette, et in belle vallette, non vi si vedendo altro, che amene selve, ò praterie grandissime

ò cultivatione : e per tutto sorge grandissimo abondantia d' acque.

Già fù questa terza parte distinta in viij Regni : ma per diversi accidenti mancando quando una progenie Regale, e quando un'altra, fù alla fine ridotta sotto un Regno solo.

Sono per lo più gl' Inglesi, così le maschi come le femmine, d' ogni età, assai ben proportionati, e belli, ma non però tanto, quanto à mio guiditio mi era stato affermato avanti che V^{ra} Magnif^a andasse in quel Regno : et hò anco inteso da persone pratiche in quei paesi, che li Seozzesi sono molto più belli : Et che gl' Inglesi sono molto amatori di se medesimi, et d' ogni

other men than themselves, and no other world but England ; and whenever they see a handsome foreigner, they say that “ he looks like an Englishman,” and that “ it is a great pity that he should not be an Englishman ; ” and when they partake of any delicacy with a foreigner, they ask him, “ whether such a thing is made in *their country?* ” They take great pleasure in having a quantity of excellent victuals, and also in remaining a long time at table, being very sparing of wine when they drink it at their own expense. And this, it is said, they do in order to induce their other English guests to drink wine in moderation also ; not considering it any inconvenience for three or four persons to drink out of the same cup. (30) Few people keep wine in their own houses, but buy it, for the most part, at a tavern ; and when they mean to drink a great deal, they go to the tavern, and this is done not only by the men, but by ladies of distinction. The deficiency of wine, however, is amply supplied by the abundance of ale and beer, to the use of which these people are become so habituated, that, at an entertainment where there is plenty of wine, they will drink them in preference to it, and in great quantities. Like discreet people, however, they do not offer them to Italians, unless they should ask for them ; and they think that no greater honour can

loro cosa ; Ne credono che si trovino altri huomini che loro, ne altro mondo, che l' Inghilterra : e quando pur veggono qualche bel forestiero, usano di dire, che è pare uno Inglese, e che gl' è gran peccato che egli non sia Inglese : e quando mangiono qual cosa di buono insieme con un forestiero, domandono, se di quella tal cosa se ne fà nel paese del convitato : et sì prendono gran piacere di havere molte e buone vivande, come anco di stare lungo tempo a tavola, usando parsimonia nel vino, quando lo bevono alle loro spese : et questo si dice che fanno à ciò che il vino sia bevuto da gl' altri Inglesi convitati con più modestia,

non tenendo per cosa inconveniente il bere tre, ò quattro, ad un medesimo bicchiere : E pochi sono quelli, che tenghino il vino in casa, ma lo comperano la maggior parte alla taverna : E quando voglino bere del vino in abondanza, vanno alla taverna non solo gl' huomini, ma ancora le donne di honore : Ma è ben vero, che alla strettezza del vino suplisce la copia e l' abondanza dell' ala, e della birra ; Al bevere delle quali due vivande sono tanto quei popoli assuefatti, che in un convito ancor che abundantiss^{mo} di vino, useranno gl' Inglesi di bevere più tosto di quelle, che del vino, et ne bevono assai, e tutta via come

be conferred, or received, than to invite others to eat with them, or to be invited themselves ; and they would sooner give five or six ducats to provide an entertainment for a person, than a groat to assist him in any distress.

They all from time immemorial wear very fine clothes, (31) and are extremely polite in their language ; which, although it is, as well as the Flemish, derived from the German, has lost its natural harshness, and is pleasing enough as they pronounce it. In addition to their civil speeches, they have the incredible courtesy of remaining with their heads uncovered, with an admirable grace, whilst they talk to each other. (32) They are gifted with good understandings, and are very quick at every thing they apply their minds to ; few, however, excepting the clergy, are addicted to the study of letters ; (33) and this is the reason why any one who has learning, though he may be a layman, is called by them *a Clerk*. And yet they have great advantages for study, there being two general Universities in the kingdom, Oxford, and Cambridge ; in which are many colleges founded for the maintenance of poor scholars. And your Magnificence lodged at one named Magdalen, in the University of Oxford, of which the founders having been prelates, so the scholars are also ecclesiastics. (34)

discreti non ne offeriscono alli Italiani, se essi non ne dimandono, e stimano di non poter fare ni ricevere maggiore honore, che ò convitar altri, ò essere essi convitati : Anzi, che per convitare una persona sola spenderanno cinque e sei ducati, che per aiutarlo in qualche sua necessità, non gli doneriano ne anco un grosso.

Vestono tutti di lungo di finiss^mi panni, et nel loro parlare sono costumatiss^mi. Il quale ben che sia Tedesco al quanto alterato : come è il Fiammingo, pure lassata quella naturale durezza, usano hora la loro pronuntia assai soave : Al quale mansueto parlare aggiungono incredibile cortesia di

stare con la testa discoperta quando ragionano l' uno con l' altro, con una mirabile gratia : E sono dotati di buon ingegno, molto atti ad ogni cosa, dove applicano l' animo : Ma però pochiss^mi ecetto li preti, attendono all' esercito delle lettere : E per ciò qualunque sia litterato, ancora che laico, viene da loro domandato clerico : E con tutto ciò hanno gran commodità di studiare, essendo nel Regno due Studij Generali, Oxonia, e Cantabrigia : ne quali studij vi sono fondati molti Collegij, per nutrimento delli scholari poveri : E V. Mag^d alberghò uno chiamato della Maddalena nello studio di Oxonia, et secondo che li fondatori di quelli furno pre-

The common people apply themselves to trade, or to fishing, or else they practise navigation ; and they are so diligent in mercantile pursuits, that they do not fear to make contracts on usury.

Although they all attend Mass every day, and say many Paternosters in public, (the women carrying long rosaries in their hands, and any who can read taking the office of our Lady (35) with them, and with some companion reciting it in the church verse by verse, in a low voice, after the manner of churchmen,) they always hear mass on Sunday in their parish church, and give liberal alms, because they may not offer less than a piece of money, of which fourteen are equivalent to a golden ducat; (36) nor do they omit any form incumbent upon good Christians ; there are, however, many who have various opinions concerning religion.

They have a very high reputation in arms ; and from the great fear the French entertain of them, one must believe it to be justly acquired. But I have it on the best information, that when the war is raging most furiously, they will seek for good eating, and all their other comforts, without thinking of what harm might befall them. (37)

They have an antipathy to foreigners, and imagine that they

lati, così li scholari sono ancor essi ecclesiastici.

La plebe si esercita nella mercatura, ò attende a pescare, ò vero si esercitano nella navigatione ; e sono tanto diligenti nella mercatura, che non temano di fare contratti usurarij.

Benchè tutti in quel si voglia giorno vedino et odino la Messa, et in publico dichino molti Pater-noster, de i quali le donne portano lunghe filze in mano, et se alcuno sà punto leggere portino seco l'offitio di N^{ra} Donna, et dichinlo sotto voce in chiesa con qualche compagno à verso à verso della maniera che fanno i religiosi :

odono sempre la messa il giorno della Domenica nella chiesa parrocchiale, e fanno buone Elemosini, perchè non si può offerir meno di un denaro, de quali ne vanno xiiij per un ducato d'oro, ne pretermettono alcun segno di buon Christiano ; vi sono però molti che hanno diverse opinioni quanto alla Religione.

Sono molto reputati nell'arme : E così bisogna credere, che sia in effetto per la gran paura, che di loro hanno li Franzesi. Ma sono bene informato, che quando la guerra è nel maggiore furore, che vogliono cercare di ben mangiare, et ogn'altra loro commodità, senza pensare à danno, che potesse loro intervenire.

never come into their island, but to make themselves masters of it, and to usurp their goods ; neither have they any sincere and solid friendships amongst themselves, insomuch that they do not trust each other to discuss either public or private affairs together, in the confidential manner we do in Italy. And although their dispositions are somewhat licentious, I never have noticed any one, either at court or amongst the lower orders, to be in love ; whence one must necessarily conclude, either that the English are the most discreet lovers in the world, or that they are incapable of love. I say this of the men, for I understand it is quite the contrary with the women, who are very violent in their passions. Howbeit the English keep a very jealous guard over their wives, though any thing may be compensated in the end, by the power of money.

The want of affection in the English is strongly manifested towards their children ; for after having kept them at home till they arrive at the age of 7 or 9 years at the utmost, they put them out, both males and females, to hard service in the houses of other people, binding them generally for another 7 or 9 years. And these are called apprentices, and during that time they perform all the most menial offices ; and few are born who are

Sono inimici de forestieri, e pensano che non passi in quell' Isola alcuno, se non per farsi patron, et usurpare i loro beni ; ne tampoco tra loro medesimi vi sono strette e sincere amicizie : In tanto, che ne in cose pubbliche, ne in private non confidano di conferire insieme, come s' usa tra di noi in Italia. E ben che siano assai inclinati alla libidine, con tutto ciò io non hò mai inteso, che ne in corte, ne tra popolari sia alcuno innamorato ; Onde è necessario à dire, ò che gl' Inglesi sieno i più segreti amatori del mundo, ò vero che nō habbino amore : ciò dico io de i maschi, perchè delle donne intendo il contrario, perchè quelle

danno molti violenti inditij di furore : Tutta via gl' Inglesi guardano le donne di casa loro con molta gelosia, riducendosi però in fine ogni cosa nella forza del denaro.

Il poco amore dell' Inglesi si dimostra espressam^{te} ne figlioli loro : però che havendoli nutriti in fino all' età di vij. anni, o viij. al più, gli mettono à stare in casa d' altri in servitù servile, obligandoli comunem^{te} per 7 ò 9 altri anni, così femmine come maschi : E questi tali vengono chiamati apprenditj, nel quel tempo fanno ogni viliss^{mo} esercitio, et pochiss^{mi} nascono tanto, che sieno esenti da questa sorte : Imperò

exempted from this fate, for every one, however rich he may be, sends away his children into the houses of others, whilst he, in return, receives those of strangers into his own. (38) And on inquiring their reason for this severity, they answered that they did it in order that their children might learn better manners. But I, for my part, believe that they do it because they like to enjoy all their comforts themselves, and that they are better served by strangers than they would be by their own children. Besides which the English being great epicures, and very avaricious by nature, indulge in the most delicate fare themselves and give their household the coarsest bread, and beer, and cold meat baked on Sunday for the week, which, however, they allow them in great abundance. That if they had their own children at home, they would be obliged to give them the same food they made use of for themselves. That if the English sent their children away from home to learn virtue and good manners, and took them back again when their apprenticeship was over, they might, perhaps, be excused; but they never return, for the girls are settled by their patrons, and the boys make the best marriages they can, and, assisted by their patrons, not by their fathers, they also open a house and strive diligently by this means to make some fortune

che ciascuno quāto si voglia ricco mette li suoi figlioli in casa d'altri, si come lui in casa sua prende degl' alieni: E domandan-dogli, perchè ragione fanno questa rigidità, rispondono di farlo, à ciò che li figlioli imparino meglio à vivere: Ma io per me, credo, che lo faccino, perchè voglino loro godersi ogni comodità, e perchè meglio siano serviti de li stranieri, che non'sariano delli figlioli medisimi. In oltre volendo gl' Inglesi per la bocca loro goder bene, et essendo per natura miseri, usano per loro ottimi cibi, et alla famiglia danno tristiss^{mo} pane, e pure birra, con carne fredda cotte fino alla Domenica, ma pure in molto quan-

tità: Che quādo hanno i loro proprij figlioli in casa, sarebbono costretti dargli li medesimi cibi, che usano per la bocca loro: Che se gl' Inglesi mettessero li figlioli loro fuori di casa à fine che imparassero le virtù, e le buone creanze, e poi ripigliassero pas-sato il tempo della servitù, forse sariano seusati; ma nō torneriano mai, perchè le fanciulle sono maritate dal patron, et li maschi prendono moglie il meglio che pos-sono, et aiutati non dal padre, ma del padrone, aprono ancor essi casa, sforzandosi con ogni industria di farsi per questa via qualche facultà: donde ne procede, che mancando la speranza della heredità pa-

for themselves ; whence it proceeds that, having no hope of their paternal inheritance, they all become so greedy of gain that they feel no shame in asking, almost "for the love of God," for the smallest sums of money ; and to this it may be attributed, that there is no injury that can be committed against the lower orders of the English, that may not be atoned for by money.

Nevertheless, the apprentices for the most part make good fortunes, some by one means and some by another ; but, above all, those who happen to be in the good graces of the mistress of the house in which they are domiciliated at the time of the death of the master ; because, by the ancient custom of the country, every inheritance is divided into three parts ; for the Church and funeral expenses, for the wife, and for the children. But the lady takes care to secure a good portion for herself in secret, first, and then the residue being divided into three parts as aforesaid, she, being in possession of what she has robbed, of her own third, and that of her children besides, (and if she have no children, the two-thirds belong to her by right) usually bestows herself in marriage upon the one of those apprentices living in the house who is most pleasing to her, and who was probably not *displeasing* to her in the lifetime of her husband ; and in his power she places all her own fortune, as well as that of her children, who are sent away as

terna, tutti divengono cupidiss^{mi} del guadagno, in tanto che non hanno eruberentia di domandare quasi per l' amor di Dio ogni ben picciola somma di denari : et da questo ne avviene, che non è possibile fare tanta ingiuria alli Inglesi plebei, la quale non si aconci coni l denaro.

Ma nondimeno gli apprenditij per la maggior parte hanno buona fortuna chi per una via, e chi per una altra : ma sopra tutto quelli, che trovandosi in casa al tempo della morte del patrono hanno acquistatosi buona gratia con la patrona : perciochè per antica consuetudine del Regno l' heredità

si divide in 3 parti alla Chiesa e funerali, alla donna, ed alli figlioli : Ma la Donna segretam^{te} se ne fa p^{ma} una buona parte, e poi si divide l' avanzo per terzo, come si è detto, et havendo in mano quello che ha rubato, et la sua parte da vantaggio, et la parte de figlioli, et non havendo figlioli, gli tocea le due parti, et comunem^{te} si prende per marito uno di quelli apprenditij, che tiene in casa, quello che più gli piace, et il quale forse in vita del marito non gl' era dispiaciuto ; et in potere di costui mette ogni facultà sua insieme con quella de figlioli, et essi sono acomodati per appren-



apprentices into other houses. Then, when the boys are of age, their fortunes are restored to them by their mother's husband, who has enjoyed them for many years, but never to the full amount; and these boys in process of time enact to others the same part that their step-fathers performed to them. No Englishman can complain of this corrupt practice, it being universal throughout the kingdom; nor does any one, arrived at years of discretion, find fault with his mother for marrying again during his childhood, because, from very ancient custom, this license has become so sanctioned, that it is not considered any discredit to a woman to marry again every time that she is left a widow, however unsuitable the match may be as to age, rank, and fortune.

I saw, one day, that I was with your Magnificence at court, a very handsome young man of about 18 years of age, the brother of the Duke of Suffolk, who, as I understood, had been left very poor, the whole of the paternal inheritance amongst the nobility descending to the eldest son; (39) this youth, I say, was boarded out to a widow of fifty, with a fortune, as I was informed, of 50,000 crowns; and this old woman knew how to play her cards so well, that he was content to become her husband, and patiently to waste the flower of his beauty with her, hoping soon to enjoy

ditij nelle case d'altri. Poi quando tali garzoni sono in età, il marito della madre rende loro la facultà goduta per molti anni; ma però non si rende mai l' intero: E questo che dal patrigno è fatto à pupilli, in processo di tempo ancor essi fanno à gl'altri: Ne alcuno Inglese si può lamentare di tale corruttela, essendo ella comune à tutto il Regno; ne si ritrova persona, la quale pervenuta à l'età virile si dolga, che nella sua pueritia la madre si sia rimaritata: Imperò che per antichiss^a consuetudine di questo libito, è talm^{te} fatto lecito, che a niuna donna viene imputato a mancamento il rimaritarsi ogni volta, che la rimanga vedova,

sia pure la condizione delle facoltà, della età, et dal sangue dissimile quanto si voglia.

Io vidi un giorno, essendo con vostra Magnif^a alla corte, un belliss^{mo} giovane di età d'anni xvij. in circa, fratello del Sig^r Duca di Sopholek, il quale intesi, che era rimasto poveretto, perchè l' heredità paterna tra baroni rimane al primogenito: Questo giovane dico fù adocchiato da una vedova di cinquanta anni, ricca per quanto intesi di 50 m. scudi: E tanto seppe fare l' astuta, e sagace vecchia, per quanto mi fù referto, che il garzone fù contento d' essergli marito, e con patientia perdere con lei la sua tenera bellezza, sperando presto di godere la sua gran ricchezza

her great wealth with some handsome young lady: because, when there are no children, the husband succeeds to the whole of the wife's property, and the wife in like manner to her husband's, as I said before; the part, however, belonging to the Church always remaining untouched. Nor must your Magnificence imagine that these successions may be of small value, for the riches of England are greater than those of any other country in Europe, as I have been told by the oldest and most experienced merchants, and also as I myself can vouch, from what I have seen. This is owing, in the first place, to the great fertility of the soil, which is such, that, with the exception of wine, they import nothing from abroad for their subsistence. Next, the sale of their valuable tin brings in a large sum of money to the kingdom; but still more do they derive from their extraordinary abundance of wool, which bears such a high price and reputation throughout Europe. And in order to keep the gold and silver in the country, when once it has entered, they have made a law, which has been in operation for a long time now, that no money, nor gold nor silver plate should be carried out of England under a very heavy penalty. And every one who makes a tour in the island will soon become aware of this great wealth, as will have been the case with your Magnificence, for

con alcuna galante damigella: Imperò che nō essendoci figlioli, li mariti succedono in tutto alle moglie loro: e così versa vice le moglie alli mariti, come ho detto di sopra, riservando però sempre intatta la parte della Chiesa: Ne credasi vostra Magnif^a che queste tali successioni possino essere di poca valuta, perciò che le richezze d' Inghilterra sono maggiori, che in altro luogo d' Europa per quanto mi è stato detto da antichiss^{m*i*} et esperti mercanti, et per quel etiam dio, che io medesimo hò potuto giudicare per quel tanto che hò veduto: Il che primieram^{t*c*} è causato de la grande fecondità di quel terreno, la quale è tale che dal vino

in poi per il loro nutrimento, non tolgono altro fuori del regno; poi vendendo quei loro pretiosi stagni, riducano nel regno una gran somma di denari: ma molti più ne ragunano per la mirabile abondanza delle lane, le quali p^{t*a*} l'Europa sono in tanto pregio, e reputazione: Et a ciò che l'oro et l'argento, che una volta è entrata nel Regno vi rimanga, e più non torni fuora, hanno ordinato, et osservano già gran tempo, che ne moneta, ne vasi d'oro, ne anco d'argento possino sotto graviss^e pene essere transportati fuori d' Inghilterra: E ciascuno che vadia a torno per l'Isola ben presto comprenderà questa infinita ricchezza, si

there is no small innkeeper, however poor and humble he may be, who does not serve his table with silver dishes and drinking cups ; and no one, who has not in his house silver plate to the amount of at least £100 sterling, which is equivalent to 500 golden crowns with us, is considered by the English to be a person of any consequence. (40) But above all are their riches displayed in the church treasures ; for there is not a parish church in the kingdom so mean as not to possess crucifixes, candlesticks, censers, patens, and cups of silver ; nor is there a convent of mendicant friars so poor, as not to have all these same articles in silver, besides many other ornaments worthy of a cathedral church in the same metal. Your Magnificence may therefore imagine what the decorations of those enormously rich Benedictine, Carthusian, and Cistercian monasteries must be. (41) These are, indeed, more like baronial palaces than religious houses, as your Magnificence may have perceived at that of St. Thomas of Canterbury. (42) And I have been informed that amongst other things, many of these monasteries possess unicorn's horns, of an extraordinary size. (43) I have also been told that they have some splendid tombs of English saints, such as St. Oswald, (44) St. Edmund, (45) and St. Edward, (46) all kings and martyrs.

come havrà potuto comprendere V. Magnif^a
perciò che ogni minimo hostiero, per povero
et abietto che si sia, subito mette in tavola
piatti d'argento, et altri vasi per bere : ne
reputano gl' Inglesi huomo d'alcuna con-
sideratione quello che non habbia in casa
vasi d'argento al manco per 100 libre di
sterlini, che sono de nostri 500 sc. d' oro :
E sopra tutto tale richezza si conosca espres-
sam^{te} nelli tesori ecclesiastici : Imperò che
in tutto quel Regno nō vi è parochia si
vile, dove non sieno croci, candellieri, tur-
ribili, bacili, e boccali d' argento : ne è si
povero convento di mendicanti, dove non
sieno tutte le medesime cose d'argento, e

molti altri ornamenti pur d'argento, con-
venienti ad una chiesa cathedrale ; si che
pensi V^{ra} Magnif^a quali possino essere
gl'ornamenti delli tanto ricchij monasterij
di San Benedetto, Certosini, o Cistercienⁱ,
i quali in vero sono più presto baronie, che
luoghi di religiosi, si come puote haver
veduto V^{ra} Magnif^a in San Tommaso di Can-
tuaria : Et io ho inteso, che molti monas-
terij tra l' altre cose hanno parech^e alicorni
di singulare grandezza : Hò inteso di più
esservi di rieliss^e sepulture di Santi Inglesi,
come sono Santo Osualdo, Santo Edimondo,
e Santo Edoardo, Re tutti e Martiri.

I saw, one day, being with your Magnificence at Westminster, a place out of London, the tomb of the Saint King Edward the Confessor, (47) in the church of the aforesaid place Westminster ; and indeed, neither St. Martin of Tours, a church in France, which I have heard is one of the richest in existence, nor any thing else that I have ever seen, can be put into any sort of comparison with it. But the magnificence of the tomb of St. Thomas the Martyr, Archbishop of Canterbury, is that which surpasses all belief. This, notwithstanding its great size, is entirely covered over with plates of pure gold ; but the gold is scarcely visible from the variety of precious stones with which it is studded, such as sapphires, diamonds, rubies, balas-rubies, and emeralds ; and on every side that the eye turns, something more beautiful than the other appears. And these beauties of nature are enhanced by human skill, for the gold is carved and engraved in beautiful designs, both large and small, and agates, jaspers and cornelians set in relieveo, some of the cameos being of such a size, that I do not dare to mention it : but every thing is left far behind by a ruby, not larger than a man's thumb-nail, which is set to the right of the altar. The church is rather dark, and particularly so where the shrine is placed, and when we went to see it the sun was nearly gone down, and the

Io vidi un giorno, essendo pure con Vra Mag^{za} a Vestimonester, luogo fuori di Londra, la sepultura del santo Re Edoardo Confessore, nella chiesa del detto luogo di Vestimonester, che in vero ne San Martino di Tros, che è in Francia, chiesa per quanto hò udito richiss^{ma} ne altra cosa da me veduta se gli può di gran lunga comparere. Passa ogni fede di credenza la sepultura di San Tommaso Martire, Arcivescovo Canturiense, la quale per molto grande che si sia, è però tutta coperta di lame pure d'oro : Ma l'oro vi si vede con fatica, per essere le lame coperte di diverse pietre pretiose, come zaffiri, balasci, diamanti, rubini, e sm-

raldi ; et per ogni banda, dove l'occhio si volta apparisce una cosa assai più bella, che l'altra : Ne a tanti beni naturali manca l'artifitio humano, perchè nel medesimo oro sono belliss^e sculture piccioli et grandi d'impressione, et di rilievo, come aceti, nicoli, corniole, camaini, et alcuni camei sono di tal grandezza, che io quanto a me non ardisco à dirlo : Ma ogni cosa è di gran lunga vinta da un robino nō maggiore di l'ugna del Police humano posto alla destra dello altare : la chiesa è al quanto oscura, e massime nel luogo, dove è situata l'area, e quando andassimo à vederla, il sole era vicino al tramontare, et

weather was cloudy ; yet I saw that ruby as well as if I had it in my hand ; they say that it was the gift of a king of France. (49)

The population of this island does not appear to me to bear any proportion to her fertility and riches. I rode, as your Magnificence knows, from Dover to London, and from London to Oxford, a distance of more than 200 Italian miles, and it seemed to me to be very thinly inhabited ; but, lest the way I went with your Magnificence should have differed from the other parts of the country, I enquired of those who rode to the north of the kingdom, *i.e.* to the borders of Scotland, and was told that it was the same case there ; nor was there any variety in the report of those who went to Bristol and into Cornwall, where there is the promontory that looks to the south-west. (The Land's End.) The same thing is asserted by those who wrote the history of King Richard the 2d (50) ; for they state, that England being threatened with an invasion by the French, about the year of grace 1390, the number of men capable of bearing arms was computed, and found to be 200,000 archers. And the bow being as decidedly the weapon of the English, as the pike is that of the Germans, I apprehend that there were not many more soldiers in England, at that time. (51) The English, however, could muster a very large

era tempo nubiloso, nondimeno io vedeva questo rubino, che mi pareva haverlo in mano ; et dicesi che fosse donato da un Re di Francia.

A tanta fecundità e ricchezza di quest' Isola non rispondi al parer mio il numero della gente : Io hò cavalcato da Dobra à Londra, et da Londra come sa V^{ra} Magnif^a al Auxonia, che sono più di 200 miglia all' Italiana, et mi vi pare una gran povertà di popoli : tutta via ch' il cammino fatto con V^{ra} Magnif^a fosse dissimile da l' altro paese, volsi informarmi da quelli che da Londra sono cavalcati alla parte Boreali del Regno, ciò è alli confini di Scotia, et mi fù

referito il simile : Ne da questi discentono quelli, che sono andati à Brisco, et in Cornouglia, dov' e il promontorio che guarda à mezzo giorno et occidente : Il simile asseriscono coloro, che scrissero l' Istoria del Re Riccardo II. perciò che mettono, che volendo i Fräzesi circa l' anno di Gratia 1390 passare in Inghilterra, furon descritti quelli, che erané habile alla guerra e furon trovati 200^m arcieri : Et essendo l' arco in tanto uso à presso alli Inglesi, quanto sia la picca alli Tedeschi, comprendo io perciò, che poco più numero di combattori, che il predetto doveva essere in quel tempo in Inghilterra : Ma pure li soldati Inglesi

army, were they as devoted to their crown as the Scotch are; but from what I understand few of them are very loyal. They generally hate their present, and extol their dead sovereigns. Nevertheless they reject the Cesarean code of laws, and adopt those given to them by their own kings. Nor are proceedings carried on in this country by the deposition of any one, or by writing, but by the opinion of men, both in criminal and civil causes. And if any one should claim a certain sum from another, and the debtor denies it, the civil judge would order that each of them should make choice of six arbitrators, and when the twelve are elected, the case they are to judge is propounded to them: after they have heard both parties, they are shut up in a room, without food or fire, or means of sitting down, and there they remain till the greater number have agreed upon their common verdict. But before it is pronounced each of them endeavours to defend the cause of him who named him, whether just or unjust; and those who cannot bear the discomfort, yield to the more determined, for the sake of getting out sooner. And therefore the Italian merchants are gainers by this bad custom every time that they have a dispute with the English; for although the native arbitrators chosen by the English are very anxious to support the

fariano un grande esercito, quando à simiglianza delli Scozzesi fossero affettionati alla corona: Ma per quello hò inteso pochi sono quelli Inglesi, che sieno fedele al Re loro: Per l'ordinario odiano li presenti, et laudano li morti: ma nondimeno lassata ogni legge Cesarea, osservano quelle, che gli danno li Re loro: Ne in quel Regno si procede per testimonianza di qual si voglia, ò per instrumento, ma per opinione di huomini, si nelli fatti criminali, come nelli civili; e se alcuno pretende de essere creditore di un altro di qualunque somma, et che il Reo nieghi, il Giudicee civile comanda, che ciascuno di essi elegga sei arbitri; et

come tutti xij. sono eletti, si fa loro intendere, che cosa devono giudicare: Costoro ascoltano sommariamte l'una, et l'altra parte, poi sono riserrati in una camera, dove non è cibo, ne fuoco, ne manco da sedere, e tanto stanno così riserrati, che la maggior parte si accorda di pronuntiare il comune parere: Ma avanti si venga alla pronuntia, ciascuno ò giusta, ò ingiusta si sforza di difendere la parte di colui che l'ha eletto: E quelli che non possono stare in quel disagio, si accomodano, per uscirne quanto prima, con li più constanti: E però li mercantanti Italiani fanno bene di questa mala consuetudine ogni volta, che contendono

cause of their principal, before they are shut up, yet they cannot stand out as the Italians can, who are accustomed to fasting and privations, so that the final judgment is generally given in favour of the latter. This practice extends also to criminal causes, and any one may be accused of great and glaring crimes, and be put to the torture, though he may openly deny the truth of the accusation. But when the chief magistrate of the place has received notice of any such malefactor, he causes him immediately to be thrown into prison, and then twelve men of that place are elected, who must decide according to their consciences, whether the prisoner has or has not committed the crime of which he is accused, and if the greater number vote that he has, he is considered to be guilty. He is not, however, punished at that time ; but it is necessary that twelve other men should be chosen, who must hear the cause over again ; and if their verdict should agree with the former one, the days of the delinquent are brought to a close. It is the easiest thing in the world to get a person thrown into prison in this country ; for every officer of justice, both civil and criminal, has the power of arresting any one, at the request of a private individual, and the accused person cannot be liberated without giving security, unless he be acquitted by the judgment of the twelve men above

con Inglesi, che quantunque gl' arbitri Isolani eletti dallo Inglese etiam prima che si riserrino sieno bene passiuti, e voglino sostentare la parte del suo principale, pure non la possono durare al paro dell'i Italiani, che sono assuefatti alli digiuni, et alli disagi : et tal che in fine il più delle volte il giudicio segue a favore dell'i Italiani. E tal consuetudine si estende ancora nelle cause criminali, et si può accusare alcuno di cose grande, et aperti malefitij, che sia tormentato, benchè el nieghi apertamente il vero : Ma quando il presidente del luogo ha notitia di qualche mal fattore, subito lo fa carcereare, e sono eletti a presso xij huomini della

terra, che secondo le conscientie loro habbino a giudicare, se l'imprigionato ha commesso o no il malefitio, del quale è accusato ; E se la mag^r parte di essi xij giudica, che così sia, colui è reputato essere il mal fattore : ma non per questo è punito allhora ; ma bisogna, che sieno eletti altri xij huomini, li quali di nuovo intendino la causa ; et se li secondi eletti si conformono con li primi, il delinquente allhora fornisce li giorni suoi : Et la minor fatica del mondo è il mettere gl' huomini prigioni in quel regno, perchè ogni publico ministro, così per civile, come per criminale, ad instantia di qualche privato, hanno facoltà di ritenere lo accusato,

named; nor is there any punishment awarded for making a slanderous accusation. (52) Such severe measures against criminals ought to keep the English in check, but, for all this, there is no country in the world where there are so many thieves and robbers as in England; insomuch, that few venture to go alone in the country, excepting in the middle of the day, and fewer still in the towns at night, and least of all in London. (53) Such is the bad effect that has arisen from an excellent cause.

There are three estates in England, the popular, the military, and the ecclesiastical. The people are held in little more esteem than if they were slaves.

The military branch is employed in time of war in mustering troops. The clergy are they who have the supreme sway over the country, both in peace and war. Amongst other things, they have provided that a number of sacred places in the kingdom should serve for the refuge and escape of all delinquents; and no one, were he a traitor to the crown, or had he practised against the king's own person, can be taken out of these by force. And a villain of this kind, who, for some great excess that he has committed, has been obliged to take refuge in one of these sacred places, often goes out of it to brawl in the public streets, and then,

ne viene liberato senza dare sicurtia, ò che il giudicio dell' xij sia fornito: ne per alcuna attione calunniosa ne resulta alcun danno allo attore: Tanto rigido modo di procedere contri li mal fattori doveria ritenere gl' Inglesi da qual si vogli maleficio: ma con tutto ciò non è paese al mondo, dove sieno più ladri, e più malandrini, che nell'Inghilterra; in tanto, che sono pochi quelli, che ardicchino non che altro di bel mezo giorno di andar soli per la campagna, e meno la notte per le città, e massime per Londra: Il quel male effetto h̄ preso origine da ottima causa:

Sono in Inghilterra 3 stati, popolare,

militare, et ecclesiastico. Il popolo è in poco maggiore stima, che se fosse servo.

Il braccio militare ne tempi di guerra serve per congregare gente. Assai preti et in pace et in guerra hanno la sovranità del regno. Et tra l'altre cose li detti preti hanno provveduto, che nel Regno siano molti luoghi sacri per refugio, e scampo d'ogni delinquente: E se bene colui avesse trattato contra la corona, ò contro la Persona stessa del Re, non può essere levato per forza di franchigia: E quel tale ribaldo, che per qual si vogli grande eccesso commesso si è ridotto nel luogo sacro, và molte volte à rompere la publica strada, poi ri-

returning to it, escapes with impunity for every fresh offence he may have been guilty of. (54) This is no detriment to the purses of the priests, nor to the other perpetual sanctuaries ; but every church is a sanctuary for 40 days ; and, if a thief or murderer who has taken refuge in one, cannot leave it in safety during those 40 days, he gives notice that he wishes to leave England. In which case, being stripped to the shirt by the chief magistrate of the place, and a crucifix placed in his hand, he is conducted along the road to the sea, where, if he finds a passage, he may go with a "God speed you !" But if he should not find one, he walks into the sea up to the throat, and three times asks for a passage ; and this is repeated till a ship appears, which comes for him, and so he departs in safety. It is not unamusing to hear, how the women and children lament over the misfortune of these exiles, asking " how they can live so destitute out of England ;" adding moreover, that " they had better have died than go out of the world," as if England were the whole world !

× In another way, also, the priests are the occasion of crimes ; in that they have usurped a privilege that no thief nor murderer who can read, should perish by the hands of justice ; and, when any one is condemned to death by the sentence of the twelve men

tornandosene al luogo, viene assicurato ancora per il nuovo eccesso commesso ; ne questo apporta danno alcuno alla borsa de preti, ne ad altre franchigie perpetue ; ma ogni chiesa è franchigia per 40 giorni : E se un ladro, ò homicidiale fuggitosene in chiesa no può partirsi sicuro tra li 40 giorni, al fine di quelli, egli dice di volersi partire d' Inghilterra. Nel qual caso dal presidente della terra viene spogliato in camicia, et datogli una croce in mano, e condotto per mezzo della via fino al mare, dove trovando passaggio, si vā con Dio : ma non lo trovando, entra in mare fino alla gola, e per 3 volte domanda passaggio ; e

poi vien riposto fino a tanto, che apparisce nave, che lo vieni, e così si parte salvo : Ne è dispiacevole cosa à sentire, che donne e fanciulli piangano la disavventura di quelli dispatriatosi, perchè domandano in che modo egli potrà vivere fuor d'Inghilterra così poveretto, agguingendo etiam dio, che tanto haveria potuto morire, quanto andare fuori del mondo, come se Inghilterra fosse tutto il mondo !

Per altra via ancora i preti sono causa di altri delitti, perchè si hanno usurpati privilegio, che alcuno ladro, ò vero homicida, che sappia leggere sia morto per mano di giustitia : E quando per giustitia delli xij

of the robe, if the criminal can read, he asks to defend himself by the book ; when a psalter, or missal, or some other ecclesiastical book. being brought to him, if he can read it he is liberated from the power of the law, and given as a clerk into the hands of the bishop. (55) But, notwithstanding all these evasions, people are taken up every day by dozens, like birds in a covey, and especially in London ; yet, for all this, they never cease to rob and murder in the streets. Perhaps this great prevalence of crime might have been better prevented, had not former kings condensed the criminal jurisdiction under one head, called the Chief Justice, who has the supreme power over punishment by death. This officer either goes himself, or sends his lieutenants or commissioners, at least twice a year all over the kingdom, but still more frequently to London, to put the unfortunate criminals to death ; and it is scarcely possible that one person should suffice for so great an extent of country, though the arrangements are as good as possible, for the kingdom of England, with the principality of Wales, is divided into thirty-six parts, which they call in their language *shires* ; (56) and, for each of these divisions a president is named every year, who is called the sheriff, and he is the administrator of the fiscal concerns, and the executor of all the orders emanating

huomini da manto sia alcuno condannato à morte, se il reo sà leggere, domanda che si vuole difendere con il libro ; onde se gli porta ò il psalmista, ò il messale, ò qual si vogli altro libro ecclesiastico, e sapendolo leggere, viene liberato de la forza, e come clericò è dato nelle mani del vescovo : Ma con tutte queste diversioni ogni giorno ne sono impiccati li belle dozzine, come se fossino mazzi d' uccelli, et massime in Londra : Et con tutto ciò mai cessano di rubare, ne di assassinare alla strada. Forse, che à tanti mancamenti si troveriano maggiori ostacoli, quando li Re passati non havessero ristretto così forte le giurisdizioni

criminali in uno solo chiamato il Capitano di Giustitia, il quale hà suprema autorità di punire à morte : Costui ò sia, ò manda suoi luogotenenti, ò commessarij per tutto il regno due volte l' anno al meno, ma più spesso à Londra, e fà morire li disventurati ; et non è quasi possibile, che uno solo supplisca à tanto paese, quantunque gl' ordini sieno quanto si possa dir belli, poichè il Regno d' Inghilterra con principato di Wallia è distinto in xxxvj parti, le quali in loro lingua chiamano *Chire*, e da ciascuna parte ogn' anno si fà un presidente, il quale è nominato *Serifo* et è procuratore del fisco, et esecutore dellì comandamenti, che

from the King's Majesty, or the Court, or this Chief Justice. And if the King should propose to change any old established rule, it would seem to every Englishman as if his life were taken from him ; but I think that the present King Henry will do away with a great many, should he live ten years longer.

I dare say that your Magnificence will have been surprised, when I stated that there was only one Chief Justice in the whole kingdom ; and will, perhaps, have imagined that I meant to imply that the Dukes of Lancaster, York, Suffolk, and many others dispensed justice in their own countries ; but these English noblemen are nothing more than rich gentlemen in possession of a great quantity of land belonging to the crown ; and any King who had several sons, or kinsmen, and persons of merit, not only gave them great estates to enjoy, but also conferred upon them the titles of duke, marquess, or earl, assigning to each of them some small influence over the revenue of the place from which their title is derived ; as, for instance, 200 crowns per annum (40*l.* sterling) are paid to the Duke of York, from the royal dues of the city of York ; and the jurisdiction, both civil and criminal, and the fortresses remain in the hands of the Crown. It is however true that the Church of Melnien (Dunelmensis, Durham) which is on the borders of Scotland, has several

vengono dalla Maestà del Re, ò dalla Corte, et da questo Capitano di Giustitia : E quando il Re volesse mutare alcun' ordine antico, ad ogni Inglese pareria, che gli fosse levata la vita, ma io credo, che il presente Re Henrico ne sia per levar molti, se avverrà, che egli sopra viva ancora x anni.

Io credo che V^{ra} Magnif^a si sarà maravigliata, quando hò detto, che in tutto il Regno non sia che un solo Capitano di Giustizia, et havrà forse pensato ch' io habbi voluto intendere de Lancastro, di Orchi, di Sopholco, et che molti altri debbino fare giustizia ne i loro paesi : Ma questi Sig^{ri} Inglesi non sono altro che

ricchj gentilhomini possessori di gran quantità di terreno pertinente alla corona ; e trovandosi alcun Re havere havuto diversi figlioli, ò vero congiunti di sangue, e persone virtuose, nō solam^{te} davano loro grandi campagne à godere, ma ancora gli onoravano di Titolo Ducale, ò di Marchesato, ò di Contato, assegnandoli qualche picciola autorità in l' entrate della terra, sotto la tudela della quale colui era creato Duca ò Conte, come sariano 200 *s.* à l 'anno al Duca di Orchi sopra l' entrate regie della città d' Orchi, et la jurisdizione con civile, come criminale, et le fortezze restavano in mano della corona : E ben vero, che la

castles in her own power, and exercises temporal jurisdiction, and coins some small pieces of money; in like manner as the metropolitan city of Canterbury coins half-groats, a piece of money of the value of two pence. (57) In the earliest times of the Norman kings, it was no great matter to give large estates to many gentlemen; for when King William the Bastard conquered England for the crown, all the land that was not fit for cultivation was divided into a number of parts called "military services," giving and assigning to each service, or, as they were otherwise named, *fee*, 60 acres of land; an acre being about as much as two oxen can cultivate in a year. It is computed that there are at present 96,230 of these fees; but the English Church is in possession of 28,015 of them; the remainder are the property of the crown, or of the barons of the realm, who however, pay acknowledgements to the crown for them. (58) There is not a foot of land in all England, which is not held either under the King or the Church; and many monasteries also pay acknowledgements to the King for their possessions; a great number of them having been founded out of the royal funds, by the crown, after the conquest by King William. And, if any knight should have acquired a sufficient number of these fees to be able to keep up a great establishment,

Chiesa di Melnien, la quale è alli confini di Scotia, hà in poter suo alcuni castelli, et usa jurisdizione temporale, et batte alcuni piccioli denari, secondo che la Metropoli Cantuarense batte mezzo grosso, ciò è una moneta di due denari: Ne fù dal principio delli Re Normanni gran cosa di dare molte possessioni à molti gentilhomini, perchè quando il Re Guglielmo Bastardo conquistò l'Inghilterra alla corona, poi quel terreno, che nō si trovava atto alla cultura, fù distinto in molte parti chiamate servitij militari, dando, et assegnando ad ogni servitio, altrimenti detto feudo, 60 acre di terreno, et una aera è quel tanto, che due bovi

possono cultivare in un anno; et sono al presente computati detti feudi 96,230 m. Ma la chiesa Anglicana è in possessione di xxvij m. et xv di tali servitij: Il resto è nella corona, ò vero nei Baroni del Regno, che però gli riconoscono dalla corona: Ne in tutta Inghilterra si trova pure un palmo di terreno, il quale non sia riconosciuto ò dal Re, ò dalla Chiesa; et molti monasterij ancora riconoscono dal Re li terreni che posseggono, perchè dopo la Conquista fatta dal Re Guglielmo furono fondati dalla corona molti monasterij con le possessioni reali: E se si ritrovasse alcuno cavaliere molto ricco di feudi, per modo che 'l potesse

he may get himself created an Earl by the King, howbeit the present King Henry makes very few. (59) In former times the titled nobility, though, as I said before, they possessed no fortresses, nor judiciary powers, were extremely profuse in their expenditure,(60) and kept a very great retinue in their houses (which is a thing the English delight in beyond measure); and in this manner they made themselves a multitude of retainers and followers,(61) with whom they afterwards molested the Court, and their own countries, and in the end themselves, for at last they were all beheaded. Of these lords, who are called *milites*, (knights), there are very few left, and those diminish daily. But the present King Henry has appointed certain military services, to be performed by some of his own dependants and familiars, who he knows can be trusted on any urgent occasion; and can be kept on a much smaller number of fees, costing him, it is said, on an average 60 nobles per annum, which are equivalent to 120 florins of the Rhine (62) (204*l.* sterling). All the lands of the nobility, however, are not in cultivation, for a great portion lies barren and waste; and I am told that there are more than 4000 parks in England, all inclosed with timber fences. (63) And such is the condition of the Lords temporal, in this kingdom.

tenere grande, e numera famiglia, si potria far creare Conte dal Re, quantunque il presente Re Henrico ne faccia pochi: Imperò che a tempi passati li Signori honorati di Titolo, come hò detto di sopra, ancora che non havessero jurisdictione, ò fortezze, pure erano molti liberali in fare le spese, e nutrire nelle case loro molta gente: Il che sopra modo piace à gl' Inglesi, et in questa guisa si facevano molti clientoli, e seguaci; con li quali poi infestavano la corona, et la propria patria, et in fine fra di loro medesimi, perchè in ultimo erano tutti decapitati: Adesso di questi Signori chiamati Militi ve ne sono pochissimi et ogni giorno ve ne sarà

meno: Ma il presente Re Henrico hà costituito tali servitij militari in alcuni suoi domestici, e famigliari, de quali sà che se ne può fidare in ogni urgentissima sua occasione, et gli vâ mantenendo con assai minor somma de feudi, i quali si dice che fruttino l' un anno per l' altro 60 nobeli, che sono cento et venti fiorini di Reno: Non si lavora però tutto il terreno de' Gentilhomini, perchè assai ne è occupato in parti salvatiche e sterile: Et io intendo, che li parci d'Inghilterra sono più de 4000 tutti cinti da legname: E tali sono li temporali Sigri di quel regno.

But that of the Lords spiritual is very superior ; for, besides their own lands, they possess the actual tenth of all the produce of the earth, and of every animal ; and any one living in his own house pays the tithe of every thing to the Church, besides the third part of every inheritance, which has been mentioned before. (64) Nor is the saying that is so common in this country without cause,—“that the priests are one of the three happy generations of the world.”

Although the Church of England is so rich, there are not more than two archbishops, Canterbury and York. In the province of the former, there are thirteen English and four Welsh bishops; in that of the latter, only two. (65) But the number of religious houses in England, both for men and women, is prodigious, and the greater proportion are of royal foundation. (66) Nor can I omit to mention here, that in the diocese of Bath there are two convents, not above twelve miles distant from each other ; the one for monks, named Glasberi (*Glastonbury*), and the other for nuns, named Santsberi (*Shaftesbury*), both of the order of St. Benedict. (67) The abbot of the former has an annual income of more than 25,000 crowns, and the abbess of the other above 10,000 ; and the English say amongst themselves, that “the finest match that could be made

Ma li Sig^{ri} spirituali stanno molto meglio, perchè oltre di loro proprij terreni hanno la vera decima d'ogni frutto terrestre, come anco di qualunque animale : Et se uno habita nella sua propria habitazione, del tutto paga la vera decima alla chiesa, dico oltre quella terza parte, che di sopra si è detto, che le perviene di tutte le heredità : Ne senza causa si frequenta il proverbio in quel regno, “ Che li preti sieno una delle 3 felici generationi del mondo.”

In tanta ricchezza della Chiesa Anglicana non sono più di due Arcivescovi, Cantau-rensis, et Eborocensis : Sotto quello di Can-turia son xij Vescovi Inglesi, et iij Cam-

bieri, sotto Eborocen non ne sono più che due solam^{te}. Ma il numero de monasterij d'Inghilterra, così per huomini, come per donne è molto grande, et la maggior parte sono di fondatione Regia : Ne posso pretermettere di dire in questo luogo, che nella dioceesi Baconiense sono due Monasterij distinti l'uno da l'altro non più di xij miglia, uno di huomini chiamato Glasberi, l'altro di donne nominato Santsberi, ambedue dell'ordine di San Benedetto : l'Abate del primo ha più di S.xx^m d'entrata ; et la Abatessa dell'altro passo x^m : E dicesi tra gl'Inglesi, “ Che in tutta Inghilterra non si potria fare il più bello matrimonio, che tra

in all England, would be between that abbot and abbess!" However, there are few of the monasteries of England that send to Rome for their bulls; (68) nor are the deaneries, or canonries, or even the parochial livings, of which it is said that there are 52,000, in the gift of the crown. I, for my part, believe that the English priests would desire nothing better than what they have got, were it not that they are obliged to assist the crown in time of war, and also to keep many poor gentlemen, who are left beggars in consequence of the inheritance devolving to the eldest son. And if the bishops were to decline this expense, they would be considered infamous, nor do I believe that they would be safe in their own churches; (69) which churches, although so rich, as I have already mentioned, are not in fine cities, for there are scarcely any towns of importance in the kingdom, excepting these two: Bristol, a seaport to the west, and Boraco (Eboracum) otherwise York, which is on the borders of Scotland; besides London to the south.

Eboracum was in ancient times the principal city of the island, and was adorned with many buildings by the Romans, in their elegant style; but, having been sacked and burnt in the reign of King William the Conqueror, she never afterwards could recover her former splendour; so that, at present, all the beauty of this

quello Abbate, et l' Abbatessa :" Tutta via pochi sono li monasterij d' Inghilterra, che mandino à torre le bolle à Roma ; ne i diaconati, ò vero canonicati s impetrano in corte, ne meno le parrocchie, le quali si dice essere 52^m : Io quanto à me credo, che i preti Inglesi non saprebbono desiderare meglio di quello che hanno, se non fossero, come sono, necessitati d' aiutare la corona quando la fà guerra, come anco nutrire molti poveri gentilhomini, i quali restano mendici per la heredità che tocca al primo-genito : E se i prelati nō facessino questa spesa, sariano reputati infami, ne credo che

sariano sicuri nella loro medesimi chiese, le quali benchè sieno ricche, come si è detto, non sono però in buone città, perchè il Regno ha pochissime terre da conto, che sono queste due, ciò è Bristo, che è porto di mare verso ponente, e Boraco verso Orchi, il quale è alli confini della Scotia, e di Londra alla parte meridiana.

Fù anticamente Boraco la principale città dell' Isola, ornata da Romani de molti ediftij, secondo la elegancia di essi Romani : Ma al tempo del Re Guglielmo Conquistore fù abbruciata, e rovinata del tutto, ne mai poi h̄ potuto recuperare l' antico suo splen-

island is confined to London; which, although sixty miles distant from the sea, possesses all the advantages to be desired in a maritime town; being situated on the river Thames, which is very much affected by the tide, for many miles (I do not know the exact number) above it: (70) and London is so much benefited by this ebb and flow of the river, that vessels of 100 tons burden can come up to the city, and ships of any size to within five miles of it; yet the water in this river is fresh for twenty miles below London. Although this city has no buildings in the Italian style, but of timber or brick like the French, (71) the Londoners live comfortably, and, it appears to me, that there are not fewer inhabitants than at Florence or Rome. It abounds with every article of luxury, as well as with the necessaries of life: but the most remarkable thing in London, is the wonderful quantity of wrought silver. I do not allude to that in private houses, though the landlord of the house in which the Milanese ambassador lived, had plate to the amount of 100 crowns, but to the shops of London. In one single street, named the Strand, leading to St. Paul's, there are fifty-two goldsmith's shops, so rich and full of silver vessels, great and small, that in all the shops in

dore: si che al prevente tutta la bellezza di quell' Isola è ridotta in Londonia, ciò è Londra, la quale ben che sia 60 miglia lontana dal mare, nondimeno ha tutte le comodità maritime, che si possono desiderare: E situata sopra il fiume Tamisa, il quale sopra Londra parecchie miglia, la contezza non sò, sente largam^{te} la diminuzione, et l' accrescimento di 6 hore in 6 hore dell' oceano: Et à la città di Londra viene tanto beneficio di questa reciprocatione, che fino alla città vengono navi di 100 botte, et à presso à Londra à cinque miglia viene ogni gran nave: ma tutta via l' acqua di quel fiume è dolce fino sotto Londra xx miglia: E benchè la città non habbia edifitij all' usan-

za Italiana, ma alla Franzese di legnami e terra, pure habitano i Londresi comodam^{te} et à me pare, che non habbiano meno habitatori che Fiorenza, e Roma. Et abonda di qualunque cosa pertinente tanto à lusso, quanto alle necessità delli habitanti; ma sopra tutto in Londra è mirabil copia di argenti lavorati, non parlo di case private, che l' hoste in casa del quale habitava l' Ambas^r Milanese, ne haveva per 100 seudi, ma delle botteghe che sono in Londra 52 d' orefici in una strada sola, che si chiama la Strada, che va à San Paolo, sono le dette botteghe tanto ricche, e ripiene di vasi d' argento grandi, e piccoli, che nelle botteghe di Milano, Roma, Venetia, e Fio-

Milan, Rome, Venice, and Florence put together, I do not think there would be found so many of the magnificence that are to be seen in London. (72) And these vessels are all either salt cellars, or drinking cups, or basins to hold water for the hands ; for they eat off that fine tin, which is little inferior to silver (pewter). These great riches of London are not occasioned by its inhabitants being noblemen or gentlemen ; being all, on the contrary, persons of low degree, and artificers who have congregated there from all parts of the island, and from Flanders, and from every other place. No one can be mayor or alderman of London, who has not been an apprentice in his youth ; that is, who has not passed the seven or nine years in that hard service described before. Still, the citizens of London are thought quite as highly of there, as the Venetian gentlemen are at Venice, as I think your Magnificence may have perceived.

The city is divided into several wards, each of which has six officers ; but superior to these, are twenty-four gentlemen whó they call aldermen, which in their language signifies old or experienced men ; and, of these aldermen, one is elected every year by themselves, to be a magistrate named the mayor, who is in no less estimation with the Londoners, than the person of our most serene

renza insieme al parer mio non ne hanno tanti di quella grandezza, quanti se ne vede in Londra. E detti vasi servono tutti ò per metter sale, ò da bere, ò per dare l'acqua alle mani : Imperò che nel mangiare usano vasi di quel nobile stagno poco differente in quanto alla bellezza dello argento: Ne sono questi così grandi richezze in Londra, perchè vi sieno cavalieri ò baroni habitanti: anzi sono tutti popolari, et artifici congregati da tutta l'Isola, e della Fiandra, e di qualunque altro luogo : Ne può alcuno essere Mer, ò vero Andremanno di Londra, se non è stato in sua gioventù Aprenditio, ciò è chi nō ha servito li vij. o viiiij. anni in

quella dura servitù narrata di sopra : Ma tutta via i cittadini Londresi servano tanta reputazione in Londra, quanto li gentilhomini Venetiani in Venetia, come credo che habbia considerato, et in parte potuto vedere Vra Magnificentia.

La città viene distinta in diversi arti, havendo ciascuna di quelle vj. offitiali ; ma di tutte sono superiori xxiiij. signori chiamati da loro Andremani, che in quel linguaggio significa huomo attēpato, ò vecchio ; E di questi xxiiij. Andremani ogn' anno de loro medesimi è creato un magistrato nominato Mero, il quale da Londresi non è meno stimato, che la persona del ser^mo nostro, ò

lord (the Doge) is with us, or than the Gonfaloniero at Florence; (73) and the day on which he enters upon his office, he is obliged to give a sumptuous entertainment to all the principal people in London, as well as to foreigners of distinction; and I, being one of the guests, together with your Magnificence, carefully observed every room and hall, (74) and the court, where the company were all seated, and was of opinion that there must have been 1000 or more persons at table. This dinner lasted four hours or more; but it is true that the dishes were not served with that assiduity and frequency that is the custom with us in Italy; there being long pauses between each course, the company conversing the while.

- A no less magnificent banquet is given when two other officers named *sheriffs* are appointed; to which I went, being anxious to see every thing well; your Magnificence also was invited, but did not go in consequence of the invitation having come from the Lord
- Privy Seal. At this feast, I observed the infinite profusion of victuals, and of plate, which was for the most part gilt; and amongst other things, I noticed how punctiliously they sat in their order, and the extraordinary silence of every one, insomuch that I could have imagined it one of those public repasts of the Lacedemonians that I have read of. (75)

vero come il Gonfaloniero di Fiorenza: et il giorno, nel quale egli entra in officio, è obligato à fare un suntuosiss^{mo} convito à tutti gl' huomini da bene di Londra, et anco à forestieri honorevoli: et essendo io uno delli convitati insieme con V^{ra} Magnif^a considerai molto bene per ogni camera e sala e per la corte, dove sedevano li convitati, et giudicai che fossero da 1000 et più persone, che stessero à sedere à tavola: Il quale desinare durò lo spatio di hore quattro, ò più: Ma gl' è ben vero, che le vivande non furon portate in tavola con quella assiduità, e frequenza, come si costuma da noi in Italia; imperò che da vivanda à vi-

vanda interponevano gran tempo ragionando tutta via.

Non è minore di questo convito quello, che di compagnia fanno due altri offitiali chiamati Seriphi: Alli quali volsi andare per vedere bene il tutto: fù invitata ancora la Magnif^a V^{ra}, ma non vi andò per essere stata invitata del Sig^{re} del Privato Sigillo: Io in questo convito vidi copia d' infinite vivande e grande argenterie, la maggior parte indorata, e fra l' altre cose notai un grandiss^{mo} ordine di sedere, et un maraviglioso silentio di ciascuno, che mi rappresentavano un publico convito da me già letto fatto da Lacedemonij: Et alle simiglianza di Lon-



In imitation of London, which is truly the metropolis of England, every town, however small, elects its mayor, and the least towns their bailiff, and the shires their sheriff. I believe that the same is done in the island of Jersey, one of the Menanian isles, lying near the kingdom of England to the south; and in other small islands appertaining to Normandy, but nevertheless under the dominion of England. (76)

There is no doubt that it is the practice at Calais, in the diocese of Moruini in Picardy (a place of about the size of Mestre, (77) including all her suburbs), whose jurisdiction extends over three leagues of country, in every direction, being entirely surrounded by the French, excepting for one short league, which adjoins to the county of Flanders. There are always about 800 chosen men, including horse and foot, on guard at Calais, as your Magnificence has seen; and I do not believe that the castle of St. Peter at Rhodes is more strictly guarded against the Turks than Calais is against the French. It is the same case with Berwick in Scotland; and this is from ancient natural instinct; but the diligent watch that is now kept over the Tower of London, was never so before the reign of Henry the Seventh, who keeps there a great store of heavy artillery, and hand-guns, bombards, arquebuses, and battle-axes; but not in

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dra, la qual è veram^{te} la Metropoli d' Inghilterra, ogni terra benchè picciola crea il suo Mero, et le terre minime creano il Bailo, et le schire il Serifo: Credo che viva al medesimo modo l' Isoletta di Hierse, una delle Menanicè adiacenti al Regno d' Inghilterra alla parte australe et alcune altre Isolette pertinente alla Normandia, ma però sottoposte all' obbedienza del regno d' Inghilterra.

Non è dubbio, che allo esempio di Londra viene Cales, luogo di circuito equale a Mestre, con tutti i borghi in Piccardia nella Diocesi Morvien', et hà intorno da ogni canto jurisditione da 3 leghe di paese,

confinando da tutte le bande con i Franzesi, eccetto una picciola lega, che termina col Conte di Fiandra: Et alla guardia di Cales stanno continuam^{te} tra pedoni e cavalieri circa 800 valent' homini, siccome hà veduto la Magnif^a Vr^a: Ne io credo che il Castello di San Pietro de Rodiani sia guardato contro a Turchi con maggior diligentia, che sia guardato Cales contro li Franzesi: Et il simile si fà di Beruico in Scotia: E questo è per instinto antico, che la diligente guardia del Castello di Londra, che si fà al presente, non si fece mai se non per Henrico vij: Il quale vi tiene dentro grande artiglieria grossa, et mezzana, scoppietti, archi-

that quantity that I should have supposed ; it must be owned, however, that the ammunition of bows, arrows, and cross-bows in the said Tower, is very large and fine. (78)

This kingdom has been, for the last 600 years, governed by one king, who is not elected, but succeeds by hereditary right. Should there be no direct heir, and the succession be disputed, the question is often settled by the force of arms ; and, though many ride on horseback to the place appointed for the decision of the quarrel, the combat takes place on foot. And, heretofore, it has always been an understood thing, that he who lost the day lost the kingdom also ; but the present King Henry, in all his reverses, shewed that, even were all the rest gone, he would defend himself in the fortresses ; and his good fortune has been equal to his spirit, for he never has lost a battle. From the time of William the Conqueror to the present, no king has reigned more peaceably than he has, his great prudence causing him to be universally feared ; and, though frugal to excess in his own person, he does not change any of the ancient usages of England at his court, keeping a sumptuous table, as I had the opportunity of witnessing twice that your Magnificence dined there, when I judged that there might be from

busi, e spingarde : ma non però in quella quantità, che io mi saria creduto : bene è vero che di archi, balestre, et saette in detto Castello ve ne sono una grande, e bella muniz^e.

Questo Regno già 600 anni è governato e retto per un Re solo, il quale non vien fatto per elettione, ma per successione : et vacando il Regno se si ritrova più che uno, che lo pretenda, bene spesso si giudica con il mezzo dell' armi chi ne deva essere il successore: et ben che molti si conduchino à cavallo per insino al luogo destinato per decidere la differentia, pure alla fine combattono à piedi : Et per il passato quello che perdeva la giornata, s' intendeva che

havesse perso il Regno : Ma il presente Re Henrico in ogni suo affanno hà mostrato di volersi difendere con le fortezze, quando bene si fosse perso il resto, et à l' animo suo hà conrisposto la fortuna, imperò che non perse mai alla campagna : Ne dal Re Guglielmo Conquestore fino à questi tempi alcuno hà regnato più pacificam^e che il presente, il quale per la sua gran prudentia è temuto universalm^e da tutti : E ben che sia per la sua persona frugaliss^{mo} pure non muta nella Corte sua alcuna parte dell' antico uso d' Inghilterra, tenendo sontuosa tavola per quanto io vidi in due volte, che V. Magnif^a vi desinò, et io stimai che vi mangiassi da 6 in 700 persone : E dicono

600 to 700 persons at dinner. (79) And his people say that his Majesty (80) spends upon his table 14,000*l.* sterling annually, which is equal to 70,000 crowns. And it is possible that his own personal expenses, those of the queen and of his children, and the military escort who compose his guard, and are from 150 to 200 in number, besides the many civilities that he pays to foreigners, may amount to 20,000*l.* sterling, as it is said they do. And, although this appears a large sum, it forms a very small item in the revenue of the crown, (81) which I understand to be as follows :

Eighty thousand marks was the sum appointed in days of yore for the King's maintenance. (A mark being worth thirteen shillings and four-pence sterling, which is equivalent to more than three crowns and a quarter of *our* money ; but, as we are only making a rough calculation, we will set the mark at three golden crowns ; which would make it 240,000 crowns.)

For the maintenance of the Queen, 10,000 marks were allotted ; which, according to the aforesaid reckoning, would be 30,000 crowns.

For the King's eldest son, *i.e.* the Prince of Wales, one third more (*less*) than for the Queen was allowed, *i.e.* 20,000 crowns.

Therefore the ordinary income for the maintenance of the King, Queen, and Prince, amounts to 290,000 crowns of gold.

li suoi, che S. Maestà spende nella tavola à l' anno xiiij^m libri di sterlini, che sono \$ 70^m. Et è possibile, che ancora nella persona sua, della Regina, de figlioli, et soldati cortigiani, che sono da 150 fino in 200 per la sua guardia, con molte cortesie che egli usa à forestieri, si dice che tutte queste spese ascendino alla somma di xx^m libri di Sterlini : E benchè questa pare una grande spesa, è nondimeno assai minore dell' entrata ; la quale intendo essere la seguente.

Furono già gran tempo fù deputate al vivere Regio 80^m marche, et vale la marca

xiijs. e den^ri 4 di sterlini che vengono ad essere più di 3 scudi, et un quarto de nostri : Ma per fare un conto così alla grossa, farò che ogni marca voglia \$ 3 d' oro, che saria in tutto \$ 240^m.

E per il vivere della Regina furono deputate x^m marche, che al coto detto sarebbono \$ 30^m.

Per il p^o genito Regio, che è Prēcipe di Wallia furono deputati un terzo più che la Reg^a \$ 20^m.

Adūque l' entrata ordin^a per il vivere del Re, Regina e Prencipe sono \$ 290^m d' oro.

This income is derived, in part, from the lands in the hands of the crown, and from the tribute on confiscated estates ; which tribute is a hard case, being of older date than the land confiscated. Because, when the Danes used to infest the island, and the English were unable to defend themselves against their depredations, the King of England entered into an agreement with the said Danes, to pay them a certain sum of money annually, which sum was taken out of the aforesaid income ; and this went on for a long time ; but when, at length, the invasions of the Danes entirely ceased, the kings of England did not on that account cease to take tribute from the people, but converted it to their own use. And they who know nothing about it, say that the money they pay to the king, is in order that civil jurisdiction may be given to the towns. (82)

To this income of 290,000 crowns, another ordinary one is added, of this kind :—When any princes of the realm die without leaving heirs, their military services revert *ipso facto* to the crown ; thus, it receives the revenues the Duke of Lancaster possessed, and they are entered into the royal chamber, called the Exchequer, which revenues amounted to a third of the sum allotted to the crown, which would be 80,000 crowns.

Questa entrata è fondata parte in tanti terreni non concessi ad alcuno, et in tributi di terreni confiscati, e questo tributo butta assai, il qual è più antico che il terreno confiscato : Imperò che quando li Dani infestavano l' Isola, non bastava l' animo alli Inglesi di difendersi da tanta molestia ; Il Re d' Inghilterra si convenne con i predetti Dani di dar loro una certa somma ogn' anno, la qual somma di denari si cavava dell' entrata prenominata : E questa cosa durò per gran tempo : Ma poi quantunque finalm^{te} cessasse l' infestazione de Danij, non cessorno però li Re Inglesi di pigliare da popoli il tributo, et cōvertirlo in proprio

uso loro : E chi non sà più là che tanto, dice li denari, li quali si pagavano al Re sono causati à ciò che la jurisdizione civile fosse data alle terre.

A detta entrata di £ 290^m, se n'è aggiunta un'altra ordin^a la quale è di questa natura. Che quando li Prencipi del Regno sono venuti à morte senza lassare herede, li servitij loro militari ipso fatto sono devolati alla corona ; e tira la corona quello che il Duca di Lancastro haveria d' entrata, et è scritta nella camera Regia, la quale si chiama il Scacchier ; la quale entrata era il 3^o di quanto era deputato per la corona, che sarieno £ 80^m.

It also takes the income of the Duke of York, which is 25,000 marks, or 75,000 crowns.

These two immense incomes are not to be wondered at, because those princes were Kings' sons, and their fathers, though they could not dismember the kingdom, chose that their younger sons should have wherewithal to live according to their rank.

The Duchy of Clarence has also reverted to the crown, which was worth 12,000 marks, or 36,000 crowns.

That of Somerset, valued at 8,000 marks, 24,000 crowns.

Also that of Gloucester, valued at 6,000 marks, or 18,000 crowns.

That of Exeter, worth 5,000 marks, or 15,000 crowns.

The Duchy of Bedford, worth 3,000 marks, or 9,000 crowns.

These altogether would yield an ordinary return of 257,000 crowns, which, added to the other (290,000 crowns), form an income of 547,000 crowns.

Several marquises and earldoms, and the fees of many gentlemen, have also fallen to the crown, but these being of small importance, are not noticed here.

The English do not reckon their gabel, which they call *customs*, in the ordinary income. (83) These were originally levied for the

Prende ancora l' entrata del Duca d' Orchi, che è 25^m marche che sarieno \$ 75^m.

Ne è da maravigliarsi di questi due si grandi entrate, perchè questi due Prencipi furono figlioli di Re, et li padri, che nō potevano dividere il regno, volevano che li figliolimini ri havessero da vivere honoratamente.

È devoluto ancora alla corona il Ducato di Clarentia, che valeva xij^m marche, che sono \$ 36^m.

Quello di Summerster, che ne valeva 8^m marche \$ 24^m.

Ancora quello di Glocestre, che valeva 6000 marche, che sono \$ 18^m.

Il simile quello di Exetre che valeva 5^m marche, sono \$ 15^m.

Il Ducato di Betfore che valeva 3^m marche, sono \$ 9^m.

Che sarieno in tutto di concesso ordinario \$ 257^m, che computato l' uno con l' altro fanno d' entrata ordinaria \$ 547^m.

Sono in oltre devoluti alla corona Marchesati e Contati assai, con le feudi di molti Gentilhomini, i quali come picciola cosa non si computano con queste entrate.

Gli Inglesi non computano nell' ordinario le gabelle da loro, chiamate costume ; li quali da principio furono ordinate per sovvenimento della corona, pagandosi tre denari per la valuta d'ogni 20^P di mercantia che entrasse, o uscisse, del Regno : Di poi, à ciò che il Re potesse tenere sicura

supply of the crown, a duty of three pence being paid on every 20 shillings worth of merchandise, that came in or went out of the kingdom. Subsequently, to enable the King to keep the coast free from pirates, this duty was raised from three to fifteen pence. (84) And this gabel or custom produces on an average 20,000*l.* sterling, or 100,000 crowns annually.

In this custom is not included the duty upon wools, which are carried into Europe by sea, and pay the third of their value to the King. (85) This very heavy tax was imposed in order to prevent the raw material being carried out of the country, and to encourage the home manufacture of cloth. This brings in about 40,000*l.* sterling, or 200,000 crowns.

All these then, united, form an income of 847,000 crowns.

There is also another duty upon the wools which are taken to Calais, and from thence sent out into Europe by land. This duty is called by these people *the Staple*. (86) But all the proceeds of the said woolstaple are assigned to the maintenance of the guard at Calais and Berwick; and are therefore not included in the revenue. (87)

The King never need be in want of more money still, should he require it, for, whenever any of his feudatories die, leaving their children minors, he takes the charge of the said children till they

l' Isola da Corsali fù accresciuta questa gabella da 3 à xv denari: E questo costume, ò gabella dà d' entrata *l'* un anno per l' altro xx^m libri di sterlini, che sono \$ 100^m.

Ne manco s' intende in detto costume il datio delle lane, le quali per mare sono condotte in Europa, che pagano al Re i 3° di quello che vagliono le lane: E questo così gran datio fù fatto perchè le lane nō sieno estratte del regno inlaborate, ma che li panni si fabricassero nel regno: questo diritto vale da 40^m libri di sterlini, che sono \$ 200^m.

Sono adunque in tutto di entrata \$ 847^m.

Vi è ancora un altro datio di Lane, che si portano à Cales, e poi p' terra si conducono in Europa: Il qual datio è chiamato da quei popoli *Stapola*: Ma tutta questa entrata detta stapula, è assegnata alla guardia di Cales, e di Baruico: si che nō si computa in entrata.

Non mancano mai al Re denari freschi, quando ne voglia, perchè ogni volta, che ad alcuno feudatario sopravviene figlioli minori, il Re nutrisce li detti figlioli fino che sieno in debita età, et il resto si prende per se, convertendolo in uso suo particolare: E

are of age, keeping in the meantime all the profits of their estates for his own use. And, should the wife of any such feudatory remain a widow without children, his Majesty inherits everything; because, according to the custom of the country, no one can marry again without the royal permission, and, to shorten matters, when they wish to obtain such a permission they pay a large sum of money; and I understand that his Majesty makes more than 50,000 crowns per annum, by the widows and wards. (88)

It is no inconsiderable sum either, that he obtains from cathedral churches, monasteries, and other benefices, whose revenues are enjoyed by the crown during vacancy, for which reason such vacancies are not very speedily filled up. (89)

And if the abbeys founded by the crown do not actually pay money to the King, they are obliged to defray the expenses of one, two, or three gentlemen, and as many horses, with their keep, at the pleasure of his Majesty. Because, whenever the King wishes to bestow an easy life upon one of his servants, he makes some one of these monasteries pay his expenses.

In every exchange of money going out of the country, the King receives a Bolognese carlino per ducat. (90)

And all these incomes, ordinary and extraordinary, are collected by the thirty-six sheriffs before named, who are the presidents of

quando resta vedova senza figlioli la donna di qualche feudatario, è sua Maestà per conseguente herede d' ogni cosa: perchè secondo la consuetudine del regno nessuna tale si può rimaritare senza la licentia Regia: E per abbreviarla, pagano buona somma di denari, quando pur voglino ottenerne tale licentia: Et io intendo, che da vedove e pupilli sua Maestà cava à l' anno più di \$ 50^m.

Ne poco fruttano le chiese cathedrali, monasterij, et altri benefitij vacanti, li quali tutti durante il tempo della vacatione, che però non se gli provede così presto del successore, sono goduti dalla Corona.

E se l' Abatij fondate dalla Corona non danno alcuna entrata di denari al Re, hanno per obbligo di spesare uno, due, e tre gentilhomini, cō tanti cavalli, e tanta provisione à complacito di S.M. Perchè quādo il Re vuol concedere vita quieta à qualche suo servitore, gli fa fare le spese da qualcuno di questi monasterij.

Non esce alcun cambio di denari fuori del regno, che il Re non ne traggia un carlino Bolognese per ducato.

E tutte le sopradette entrate si ordinarie, come extraordinarie sono riscosse dalli xxxvj seraphi sopra nominati, che sono

the thirty-six shires, into which, as we have already said, the kingdom of England, with the principality of Wales, is divided.

The customs, however, and the duties upon wools, are collected by persons appointed by the King for that purpose, and these offices are not sold, as in Italy. I had almost forgotten to mention the pension of 10,000 ducats, paid annually by the king of France, which was originally granted by king Louis (the Eleventh) to king Edward the Fourth, and was afterwards confirmed by king Charles (the Eighth) to king Henry the Seventh, when he went over into Picardy. (91)

X If the king should go to war, he does not content himself with his ordinary income, but he immediately compels the clergy to pay him one, two, or three fifteenths, or tenths, as is the custom with us, and more, if the urgency of the war should require it.

One fifteenth net is worth 12,000*l.* sterling, or 50,000 crowns.

And if it should be a case of glory, or necessity, such as a war with France or Scotland would be, on the requisition of so wise a king as Henry the Seventh, the three estates before named would always agree to give him one, two, or three fifteenths, and a fifteenth of the three estates is worth 37,930*l.* sterling. And this tithe is not taken according to the real property of either the clergy or the laity, but by an ancient assessment of the kingdom. (92)

presidenti alle xxxvj schiere, nelle quali
abbiamo detto che è diviso il Regno d' Inghilterra, et il Principato di Wallia.

Ma nondimeno le costume, et li diritti delle lane, sono riscossi da huomini Regij à ciò deputati, et non si vendono, come si fà in Italia. Quasi mi era dimenticato la pensione delle 10^m ducati, che gli paga il Re di Francia ogni anno, che prima fù data per il Re Luigi al Re Odoardo IIII° : poi il Re Carlo la riconfermò al Re Henrico vij, quando passò in Piccardia.

Accadendo al Re far guerra, non si contenta delle sue entrate ordinarie, ma subito condanna lo stato ecclesiastico in una, due

e tre quindene, ò vero decime, secondo l' uso nostro, et di tante più quanto lo strigne il bisogno di quella guerra.

Una quindena di netto vale 12^m libri di sterlini, che sono \$ 50^m.

E se gl' accade per cosa gloriosa, ò di necessità, come saria guereggiare contro Scotia, ò Francia, ogni volta che vuole un Re savio come è Henrico vij, li 3 stati sopradetti si accordano di dare una quindena, duo, o tre, et tale quindena di rendita è trentasette mila, nove ceto, e trenta libre di sterlini : E questa decima de preti et secolari non è secondo la vera rendita, ma è secondo l' antica tassam^{te} del regno.

Although the crown has many offices in its gift, both for the service of the public and for the royal household, yet there are some which receive pay from the King, and others which do not; such as the Constable, who is the commander-in-chief of the royal army, and the Marshal, who is at the head of the artillery, the Admiral of the sea, the great Steward of the household, and the Chamberlain; of the other class, which comprises the more useful offices, are the High Chancellor, who is the superintendent of all the justice of the kingdom, (the receipts of this office not only suffice for the wants and remuneration of its possessor, but to pay all the other legal officers besides;) also, the President of the Council, the Privy Seal, the Masters of Requests, and many others of a like nature, which are all given by the King for life. (93)

This kingdom of England is not quite independent, I do not mean of the Empire, but of the Apostolic See. And I find in the Norman histories, that when King William, the first of that name, Duke of Normandy, was about to set out upon the conquest of England, he did homage for it to Pope Alexander the Second. But the English histories make no mention of this; and it is a forgotten thing.

The English also write, that in the year of grace 1201, under

E ben che la Corona habbia diversi officij si per il regno, come p' la casa Regia: nondimeno alcuni vi sono, che tirano provisione dal Re, et alcuni nò, come il Contestabile, che è gran capitano dello esercito Regio; et il Marescalco, il quale è sopra l' artiglieria dell' esercito: l' Admiraglio del Mare, il gran Maestro di casa, et il Ciamberlano: E certi altri sono gl' officij da utile, come è la Gran Cancelleria, la qual' è sopraintendente à tutte la guistitia del regno: E questo officio non solam'te serve al bisogno, e guadagno di chi vi è proposto, ma paga del suo ogn' altro officio togato, com' è il Senatorio, il Privato Sigillo, Ma-

estri de Notari, e molti altri simili, che tutti si danno dal Re à vita.

Questo Regno d' Inghilterra non è senza qualche subettione, non già de l' Imperio, ma si bene della sede Apostolica: Et io trovo nell' istorie Normande, che il Re Guglielmo primo di tal nome, Duca di Normandia, quando volse passare alla conquistà d' Inghilterra, se ne infeudò da Papa Alessandro IIº. Ma pure l' Istorie Inglesi non ne fanno mentione alcuna: E tal cosa è scordata.

Serivono aneo gl' Inglesi, che l' anno di gratia 1201 il Re Giovanni riconobbe quel regno dalla Chiesa Romana sotto il Pontifi-

the Pontificate of Innocent the Third, King John acknowledged to hold the kingdom from the Church of Rome, and paid a tribute of 2,000 marks annually. But this subsidy also seems to be forgotten by the Roman Church, which certainly is a wonderful thing. (94) One only has remained, *viz.* that many years ago the English Kings, and the Danish Kings who reigned in England, bound themselves to pay a certain alms every year to the church of St. Peter of Rome, which from that reason was called **DENARIUS PETRI** (Peter's Pence). In later times, the Bishops, either to relieve the people, or to make money by it themselves, for they certainly are no losers by it, entered into a composition with the Apostolic Chamber, to pay a certain sum at once, to some person who should reside in England for the purpose, on behalf of the Holy See, which agent goes by the name of the Apostolic Collector ; and they say that this office is worth from 800 to 1000 crowns per annum. (95)

And this is what the island pays, at present, to the Church of Rome. And in such manner is England ruled and governed.

cato d' Innocentio III^o e che ne pagavano à l' anno 2000 Marche. Ma anco questo censo è dimenticato dalla Chiesa Romana, che certo è da maravigliarsene : Un solo è rimasto, che già molti anni li Re Inglesi, e Dani Regnatori d' Inghilterra si obbligorno di dare ogni anno una certa elemosina alla Chiesa di San Pietro di Roma, il quale perciò fu chiamato **DENARIUS PETRI**. Poi li Vescovi ò per liberare il Popolo, ò per imborsare maggior somma, che suo

danno non lo fece, si composero con la camera Apostolica di dargli un tanto ad uno, il quale per ciò risedesse in Inghilterra, per nome di Santa Pontificia ; il quale era chiamato Colletore Apostolico : E dicono che vaglia detto officio dalli 800 alli \$ 1000 l' anno.

E questo è il Presente, che dà l' Isola alla Chiesa Romana ; Et in tal modo si regge e governa l' Inghilterra.

NOTES.

NOTE S.

NOTE 1.

It is rather doubtful what the writer here means by *l'Isola*: whether (as he frequently uses that term to express England only, and not the whole of Great Britain,) he would imply that England was free from many diseases with which Scotland and Wales were afflicted; or, that most of the complaints to which the English were subject were not attributable to the climate, but to other causes; or, could the word have been inserted by mistake, instead of *l'Italia*?

NOTE 2.

From this report of the weather, it may be inferred that the writer had quitted England before the summer of 1498, as it is stated that “in this yeare there was a great drought, by reason whereof a loade of hay, which was beforetime sold at London for five shillings, was now sold for ten or twelve shillings, or more.”*

NOTE 3.

Carp is said to have been introduced into England by one Leonard Mascall or Marshal, a Sussex gentleman, about the year 1514; but it was known before, being mentioned by Dame Juliana Berners, the prioress of Sopwell, in her Book of St. Alban's, printed by Wynkyn de Worde, in 1486; who writes thus—“ And of the carp, that it is a deyntous fyssche, but there ben but fewe in Englond; and therefore I wryte the lasse of hym;” so probably Mr. Mascall only naturalized this species of fish, and that about the era mentioned in the distich in Baker's chronicle—

“ Hops and turkeys, carps and beer,
Came into England all in a year,”

* Stowe's Annales.

which was just at the time of which we are treating. Tench and perch, if not indigenous in England, were introduced before this time, for we find the former mentioned in the household book of the Duke of Buckingham (see Note 60), and a dish of the latter at Henry the Seventh's marriage feast (see Note 79); and Rondelet, an eminent physician, born at Montpellier in 1507, who wrote a treatise "De piscibus marinis," says, speaking of the perch, "this fish abounds more in the river Po, and in *England*, than in other parts." The salmon is confined in a great measure to the northern seas, being unknown in the Mediterranean and the waters of other warm climates. It always migrates to the sea in the winter, but it is considered to be a fresh-water fish.*

NOTE 4.

There appears to be little doubt that the vine was formerly cultivated in England for the purpose of making wine (though some have imagined that the word *vinea* might mean orchards as well as vineyards), but it is uncertain when it was first introduced. We are informed by Vopiscus, that the Emperor Probus, so early as A.D. 280, *restored* the privilege of the vineyard to most of the provinces to the north and west. Vineyards are mentioned by Bede in the 8th century; and amongst the laws of Alfred we find, "should any one commit injury to the vineyard or lands of another, he shall make compensation therefore." The vale of Gloucester seems to have been particularly favourable to the culture of the vine. William of Malmesbury says, "this vale is planted thicker with vineyards than any other province in England, and they produce grapes in the greatest abundance, and of the sweetest taste. The wine that is made in them hath no disagreeable tartness in the mouth, and is little inferior to the wines of France." Most of the great monasteries had vineyards, from which they made wine for the use of their respective houses, and it is stated by Stowe that "King Richard the Second planted vines in great plenty within the little park of Windsor, and made wine therefrom, whereof some part was used in his own house, and some part sold to his profit, of which the yearly account of the charges is yet to be seen in the outer gate-house, made by King

* Izaak Walton's Complete Angler. Bingley's Animal Biography.

Henry the Eighth, where the moneth court, kept by the clerks of the honor and castle, for the pleas of the forest and honor, are held." It is supposed that vineyards gradually fell into disuse from its being discovered, when Gascony was in the hands of the English, that the wine imported thence was both better and cheaper than could be made here. Some, however, have affirmed that there is upon record a treaty between France and England, in which it is stipulated that we should root up our vineyards, and be their customers for all our wine. Gascony wine was so plentiful in the reign of Henry the Seventh, that on the marriage of his daughter Margaret with the King of Scotland, twelve hogsheads of claret were given away to the populace. It was sold, in 1504, at about $6\frac{1}{2}d.$ a gallon.*

NOTE 5.

According to Verstegan, ale and beer (being in fact the same thing) were introduced into England by the Saxons or Danes (by the latter it is still called *ael*) ; but others say that the Romans found them in use amongst the ancient Britons. However this may be, they have been for ages past the common beverage of the English people. I find no record of their having ever been exported before A.D. 1492, when † a license was granted by Henry the Seventh to John Merchaunt, a Fleming, to export fifty dolia (a dolium was a measure containing 126 gallons) of beer ; since which time immense quantities have been sent out of the kingdom. In an original edition of Arnold's Chronicle (printed by Pynson in 1521), I have met with the following receipt for making beer ; ‡ " x quarters malte, ij quarters wheete, ij quarters ootes, xl pound weight of hoppys, to make lx barrels of singyll beer :" and written by a contemporary hand on the margin, was, " di. (dimidium, half) quarter barley malte, iij pekkes wheete, iij pekkes ootes, ij pound hoppys, to make *my* barrel of dobill beer, and five of sengyll beer." There were only two kinds allowed to be made, single and double beer. At this time it was a new improvement in the art of brewing to add hops (which had but lately been introduced into the country) to the malt. This may account for its non-exportation earlier, as it was necessary to drink it fresh, when made of malt only. It was forbidden to be used at the king's

* Ellis' Introduction to Domesday Book. Gul. Malms. Scrip. ap. Savile. Stowe's Annales. Leland's Collectanea.

† Rymer's Fœdera.

‡ Arnold's Chronicle.

table before it was *five days* old.* The London breweries which stood along the banks of the Thames at St. Katharine's, Wapping, and are called "the Bere House" in the map given in the Civitates Orbis, were twice spoiled by the king's (Henry the Seventh's) officers, for sending too much abroad unlicensed, or brewing too much for home consumption. The price of beer in 1504 was $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ per gallon, and that of ale was $3d.$ †

NOTE 6.

The low state of agriculture at this time was occasioned by the very great demand for English wool throughout the continent. This made it so much more lucrative to keep large flocks of sheep than to cultivate the land, that the conversion of arable lands into pasture increased to a very pernicious extent. Several statutes to enforce tillage were passed during the reigns of Henry the 7th and his successor (by one of them, the flocks of individuals, which often amounted to or exceeded *twenty thousand* sheep, were restricted to *two thousand*) but without much effect, as, in the reign of Elizabeth, the lands in cultivation were computed at only one-fourth of the whole kingdom. By degrees, however, the exportation of English wool subsiding, and its price decreasing, landholders, being disappointed of their former profits, found it necessary to diminish their flocks, and to throw more land into cultivation.‡

NOTE 7.

It is generally believed that wolves were entirely extirpated from England in the reign of Edgar,§ who "caused Ludullus, prince of Wales, to yelde him yerely by way of tribute, three hundred wolves, by reason whereof, within four years after, in England and Wales, myght skantly be found one wolfe alyve :" but this was not the case, as appears from a commission sent by Edward the First|| to his faithful and well-beloved servant, Peter Corbet, A.D. 1281, "to hunt with men and dogs, and to destroy, in whatever manner may seem expedient to him, all the wolves he could find in forests, parks, and all other places in the counties of Gloucester, Worcester,

* Brewer's Middlesex.

† Fleetwood's Chronicon Preciosum.

‡ Henry's History of England. Holinshed's Chronicle.

§ Grafton's Chronicle.

|| Rymer's Fœdera.



Hereford, Salop, and Stafford." In Scotland, so late as the reign of James the First,* "every baron was obliged, by law, to hunt the wolf four times a year, attended by all his tenants, in the proper season ;" and every sheriff, with all the barons and freeholders of his county, was obliged to have three great wolf-huntings in the year. The country occupied by the forest of Caledonia, which formerly extended across the whole of the southern part of Scotland, from the Atlantic ocean to the North sea, and of which Ettrick wood is supposed to have formed a part, continued to be infested with wolves till the latter end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century,† when large tracts of wood were actually burnt in order to get rid of them. A wood, nearly twenty miles in length, in the neighbourhood of Loch Sloi, was consumed for this purpose. The forest of Caledonia was also famous in antiquity for being the retreat of wild boars, which have long been extinct, and for a breed of wild cattle, milk white, with black muzzles, horns and hoofs, and "long manes like lyones" (according to Lindsay of Pitscottie) ; which latter peculiarity has been lost by those of later days, perhaps by intermixture with the tame breed. These were preserved in the park of Drumlanrig till the middle of the last century, when their extreme ferocity occasioned their extirpation.‡ The same breed however still exists at Chillingham castle, in Northumberland, and in Chartley park, in Staffordshire. There is a superstition attached to those at the latter place, that, whenever a black calf is born amongst the wild cattle, it portends the death of one of the family of Ferrars, the Lords of Chartley.

NOTE 8.

"Taking partridges and pheasants with *unlawful engines* in another man's grounds without his license," was first considered an offence by statute in the reign of Henry the Seventh, and the offender was liable to a fine of 10*l.*§

NOTE 9.

A swan is a bird royal, and in former times was held in sufficient estimation to have been the subject of several old laws. The kings of England

* Black Acts of James the First.

† Hone's Every Day Book.

‡ Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border.

§ Stat. 11 Henry VII. Jacob's Law Dictionary.

had many swanneries, and, besides these, all white swans not marked as private property, swimming in an open and common river, might be seized to the use of the king, by his prerogative. No person was allowed a swan-mark who did not possess freehold property to the value of five marks per annum, unless he were the heir apparent to the crown, or had a special permission from the king. It was felony to steal swans, and if any one took the eggs from their nests he was liable to be imprisoned a year and a day, and to be fined at the king's pleasure (11 Henry VII.) It was formerly the custom for the swan companies, with the Lord Mayor of London at their head, to go up the Thames annually in August, for the purpose of *taking up* the swans to mark them, which was called *swan upping*; this term was gradually corrupted by the vulgar into the unintelligible one of *swan-hopping*. The king's swans were marked with two slight notches or nicks, whence originates the common sign of the *swan with two necks*, it having been at first intended to represent a royal swan with *two nicks*; and it may have been observed that a crown still always encircles the necks of the anomalous bird suspended over the inns of the present day. Sir Edward Coke mentions a swan-herd as having formerly made a part of the king's establishment; and in a curious old tract printed in 1570, called "the order for swannes, both by the statutes, and by the ancient orders and customes, used within the realm of England," mention is made of a court now obsolete, namely of "the King's Majesties Justices of the Sessions and Commissioners of Swannes." Swans were formerly considered as great dainties, and when the price of *poultry wares* was fixed by statute in 1572, a fat swan was placed at the head of the market at 6s. 8d., while chickens were sold at 4d. a piece, pigeons at 14d. per dozen, and "the large fat goose" at only a shilling.*

NOTE 10.

Before the year 1562, when laws were made for keeping cleanliness and good order in the streets, all kinds of offal were thrown out from the butchers' and poulterers' shops,† which attracted the kites or gledes, crows, and other ravenous birds, which, being forbidden to be killed on account of

* Jacob's Law Dictionary. Archaeologia, vol. XVI. Hone's Every Day Book. Stowe's Survey of London.

† Bishop Stanley's Familiar History of Birds.

their removing so offensive a nuisance, became so tame as to mingle with the passengers, and take their prey in the midst of the greatest crowds. There are still numbers of these birds existing in London ;* within a very few years there was a falcon's nest on the steeple of Spitalfields church ; a family of carrion crows established themselves between the wings of the dragon of Bow church ; a nest of rooks has been in existence many years in a tree at the corner of Wood Street, Cheapside ; and in 1831 a pair of hawks built their nest under the dome of St. Paul's cathedral.

NOTE 11.

Lead and tin constituted one of the most valuable articles of exportation in the early periods of English history. Almost all the cathedral churches, palaces, and castles in France and other countries on the continent, are said to be covered with lead from England. The royal revenues arising from the tin mines of Cornwall were valued at 2000 marks a year in the reign of Richard the First, and granted at that rate to his widow, Queen Berengaria. These mines, which are of great antiquity, being supposed to have been known by the Phœnicians, are under peculiar regulations, called *the stanary laws*. The English workmen were so celebrated for their skill in the manufacture of pewter, that in 1548 they were prohibited by statute from either "quitting the realm, or imparting their mystery to foreign apprentices."†

NOTE 12.

According to the Northumberland Household book, the usual hours kept at this time, were—breakfast at 7 o'clock A.M., dinner at 10 o'clock A.M., and supper at 4 in the afternoon.

NOTE 13.

The longest day at Dungeness is about 18h. 2m. in length, and the shortest night 5h. 45m. "From June to the middle of July, there is scarcely any night, and at what is called midnight the smallest print may be read."‡

* Jesse's Gleanings in Natural History.

† Maddox's History of the Exchequer. Henry's History of England.

‡ Pennant's Scotland.

NOTE 14.

Offa, King of Mercia, made a ditch to separate his Saxon subjects from the Britons, extending from the mouth of the river Dee to that of the Wye, a distance of nearly 80 miles. This was called *Clawdd Offa* (Offa's dyke) by the Welsh.*

NOTE 15.

The treaty concluded at Ayton in September 1497, whereby Henry the Seventh consented to take the King and Queen of Spain as arbitrators on his differences with the King of Scotland, and James the Fourth consented to give up Perkin Warbeck, and to sign a truce for seven years, was brought about by the mediation of Don Peter de Ayala, the ambassador from the court of Spain to the King of Scotland, "a man," says Grafton, "of no lesse learning than prudent wyt and pregnant policie."†

NOTE 16.

The sense of this passage is not very clear; whether it means that the king gave Don Peter a bag of money, without examining into or counting its contents, which would be rather out of character with the parsimonious disposition of Henry the Seventh; or whether he gave him a sum that was *nominally* 300 nobles, but was paid to him in other coin; which indeed must have been the case, for though the noble went for 6s. 8d. in accounts, there had been no piece of gold of that value issued since the 9th year of Henry the Fifth's reign. The noble was first coined by Edward the 3rd, A.D. 1340, and was struck on account of the great naval victory obtained by that king in person over the French; on it, Edward was represented as completely armed, in a ship, with a naked sword in his right hand.‡

NOTE 17.

"The Scottis which inhabite in the southerne pairts be weill nurtured, and leive in guid civilitie, and the most civill use the Inglisch speech; the

* Camden's Britannia. 12.

+ Rymer's Fœdera. Grafton's Chronicle.

‡ Fleetwood's Chronicon Preciosum. Henry's History of England.

other paift northerne, are full of mountaines, and verie rud and homlie kynd of people doth inhabite, which is called the Reidschankis or wyld Scottis."*

NOTE 18.

The genius of the Scotch people appears to have always been particularly devoted to architecture, as may be seen by the stupendous Gothic cathedrals and other religious edifices which anciently abounded in Scotland, and which were for the most part demolished at the time of the Reformation, but of which such beautiful ruins still exist. The houses of the nobility were also very magnificent buildings in general, and it is worthy of notice that they are all described as having chimneys and windows, which were by no means common in England at this time. These splendid buildings might seem to be incompatible with the proverbial poverty of the nation, were it not that from the cheapness of the materials, there was no country in Europe where this taste could be indulged at so moderate an expense. The dwellings of the lower orders were wretched enough, according to Lindsay of Pitscottie, who says, "the countrie houssis be narrow, covered with strae and reid, quhairin the people and beastis lye togidder."†

NOTE 19.

The Scotch appear to have always been remarkable for their hospitality. Perhaps this may have arisen at first in some degree from the want of inns, but afterwards, when these were established, travellers continued to lodge in private houses, and the public houses were so neglected that those who kept them presented a petition to Parliament, stating that "the liegis travellend in the realme, quhen they cum to burrowis and throughfairis, herbreis them not in hostillaries, bot with their acquaintance and friendis," which produced an act prohibiting travellers to lodge in private houses where there were hostellries, under a penalty of 40 shillings, those who took them in being also subject to the same penalty.‡

NOTE 20.

This statement is quite correct, that whenever the King of Scotland prepared to repel an invasion of the English, all the vassals of the crown

* Chronicle by Lindsay of Pitscottie.

† Guthrie's Geography. Chron. Lindsay of Pitscottie.

‡ Henry's History of England. Black Acts of James the First.

and their followers cheerfully attended the royal standard, properly armed and equipped, and served at their own expense. Reviews, or *Wappenschaws* as they were called, were held four times, afterwards twice a year, in the different counties, in order to render the people expert at arms. At these every crown vassal was required to appear with such muster of men and armour as he was bound to make by his fief. The spear, whose length was seventeen feet, was the national weapon, and it was a very formidable one when used by a steady compact battalion. Don Peter's report of the population of Scotland may have been correct; for, according to the most ancient and credible historians, it must have been very great in former times, to have afforded so many thousands to fall by the sword of the English, without any sensible diminution of the inhabitants; and it was certainly much more considerable 300 or 400 years ago in the islands than it is at present, for the Hebrides alone could then send 10,000 men into the field without prejudice to agriculture.*

NOTE 21.

I cannot discover that the Scotch possessed any land in England at this time; if they did, it must have been a very small "particle;" for though James the Fourth, who espoused the cause of Perkin Warbeck, entered Northumberland on his behalf in 1496 and ravaged the country, he was obliged to retire and abandon the castle of Norham, to which he had laid siege; whilst the English, on the contrary, in retaliation of this inroad, invaded Berwickshire the ensuing year, and actually took the small castle of Ayton, a place a few miles to the north of Berwick, where the treaty of peace before named, which was brought about by means of Don Peter de Ayala, was signed. The Scotch were, however, at different periods during the reigns of some of the Norman and Plantagenet kings, masters of the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Huntingdon, (David king of Scotland was created earl of Huntingdon by Henry the First, and this title was borne by his successors for more than a century), the town of Bedford, &c. for which, of course, according to the feudal laws, the kings of Scotland paid homage to the kings of England; but this no more proved the supremacy of England over Scotland than the kings of

* Henry's History of England. Sir W. Scott's "Old Mortality." Guthrie's Geography.

England paying homage to the kings of France for Normandy, Guyenne, Aquitaine, &c., proved that England was subject to France. It is true that when Henry the Second conquered William the Lion, king of Scotland, he compelled him to pay homage to England for his crown, but, as he was released from this by Richard the First, it was no argument in favour of the supremacy of his successors. Nevertheless, Edward the First gravely assured the Pope,* who had written to remonstrate with him upon his invasion of Scotland, that “ever since the coming of Brute and the Trojans into this island Scotland had been under feudal subjection to the kings of England, who had frequently made gifts of it to one of their subjects, and resumed the gift at their pleasure!” and all his successors who wished to make war with the Scotch availed themselves of the same plea. In the treaty, however, made a few years after the time of which we are treating, in January 1502, between the kings of England and Scotland, the claim to supremacy was not mentioned, and, as the monarchs treated each other on equal terms, it may be considered to have been then virtually abandoned :† but all the old chroniclers, such as Fabian, Grafton, Hall, Stowe, &c., invariably speak of the kings of England as lords paramount of the whole island of Britain.

NOTE 22.

Berwick remained in the possession of the English from that time, A.D. 1482, till the two kingdoms were united. The bridge is a very remarkable and beautiful object ; it contains fifteen arches, and measures the fifth of a mile in length. The wardenship of the Scotch Marches was considered a post of great importance, and was formerly given to one of the great lords of the north, such as the earls of Northumberland or Westmoreland, Lord Dacre of Gilsland, &c., whose interests were most particularly concerned in repelling the incursions of the Scotch across the Border ; but Henry the Seventh, whose whole line of policy tended to diminish the power of the nobility, had, in 1495, appointed his son Henry duke of York, then a child of four years old, to this office, thus virtually keeping it in his own hands.‡

* Lord Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors.

† Sir Walter Scott's Tales of a Grandfather.

‡ Sir Walter Scott's Border Antiquities. Rymer's Fœdera.

NOTE 23.

There were formerly *twelve* bishopricks in Scotland, viz.:

Edinburgh	Brechin	Ross
Dunkeld	Caithness	Argyle
Dumblane	Murray	Galloway
Aberdeen	Orkney	The Isles

and two arch-bishopricks, Glasgow and St. Andrew's.

NOTE 24.

The seven Welsh bishopricks in former times, were,

Hereford	Bangor	Worcester
Cardiff	St. Asaph	Morgan (Glamorgan)
Llandaff		

all of which were subject to the archbishop of Menevia (St. David's).

NOTE 25.

“ Waillis for the most pairt is barrene and unfruitfulle, because it lacketh tillage, for which cause husbandmen live hardlie, eating otin cakes, and drinking milk mixt with watter.”*

NOTE 26.

According to ancient tradition, Brute the grandson of Ascanius, the son of Æneas, having been banished into Greece, collected all the Trojans whom he found there in captivity, and embarked with them in search of adventures. After wandering about for a considerable time, during which he performed many notable feats, he at length arrived at Totnes, in Devonshire, in the year 1108 B.C. The island was then inhabited by giants, who were extirpated by Brute and his followers. One of the most powerful of them, named Gog Magog, was slain, and thrown down Dover cliff by Corineus, the nephew of Brute, for which act of prowess he received in reward the whole county of Cornwall. When Brute had subjugated the island, he called it Brutaine, or Brytaine, after his own name; and he built London, which he called Troy Novant, or New Troy, by which name it continued

* Chronicle by Lindsay of Pitscottie.

till sixty-six years before the Christian era, when one of his descendants, king Lud, having repaired and beautified it, ordered it to be called Lud's town, which now, "for shortness of speech," is said London. The strong gate that he built to the west of the city still bears the name of Ludgate. After the death of Brute, the kingdom was divided amongst his three sons ; and the region beyond the Severn fell to the share of Camber, the second, from whom Wales derived the name of Cambria. When the Saxons conquered Britain, the ancient inhabitants of the island took refuge in the mountains of Wales, where they maintained their independence till the reign of Edward the First, and they still continue a distinct people, retaining their original language, and many of their ancient customs. The name of Wales and Welshmen originated from the Saxons, though some say it was from Wallo or Gallo (the letters G and W being used indiscriminately by the Celts), one of their princes ; *Walshman* signifying a stranger in the Saxon tongue, and *Wal* being their name for a Frenchman, Italian, or any other foreigner who differed in his speech from their own. (The Germans call Italy *Welshland*, and the Italians *Welsher*, to this day.) The Britons, therefore, who were driven into this country, and spoke a different language, obtained the name of Welshmen.*

Note 27.

The extreme dislike entertained by the Welsh for the English is by no means surprising, when we consider the many cruel oppressions they endured from them, both at the time of and after their conquest, particularly during the reign of Henry the Fifth, when, amongst other severe laws passed against them, we find it forbidden by Act of Parliament to teach their children learning, or to bind them apprentices to any trade, in any town throughout the realm. They were voted incapable of holding any office under the crown, either in Wales or in England; and all Englishmen who married Welshwomen were to be disfranchised of their liberty!†

Note 28.

Wales was not fairly incorporated with England till the year 1536, when she was placed by Act of Parliament under the jurisdiction of English law,

and such Welsh laws and customs as were not agreeable thereto were abolished (Stat. 27 Henry the Eighth). At the time of which we here treat, she was governed according to the arrangement made by Edward the First, who divided the country into eight shires: namely, Caernarvon, Flint, Merioneth, Cardigan, Caermarthen, Pembroke, the island of Anglesey, and Morgan or Glamorgan, besides the county of Monmouth, which continued to be reckoned as part of Wales till the reign of Charles the Second. (Radnor, Brecknock, Montgomery, and Denbigh were not added till the aforesaid Act 27 Henry the Eighth.) The Marches or borders of England and Wales were at the same time united partly to the English and partly to the Welsh counties next adjoining, as was found most convenient. King Edward revised their code of laws, which was said to have been given to them by Hoel Dha, or Hoel the Good, one of their princes, A.D. 940, and divided their jurisdiction into two provinces, of North and South Wales. There was a chancery and court of exchequer held in the castle of Caernarvon for North Wales, and the same in the castle of Caermarthen for South Wales, and a supreme judge to administer justice in each province, called the Justices of North and South Wales. The courts of justice so held for the whole provinces were called the great sessions, wherein matters of the greatest moment and causes of life and death were tried. Herein also, on the creation of a new prince, certain sums of money, called by them *mises*, were granted by the people of that province to the prince. These *mises* were granted for the prince's allowance of their laws and ancient customs, and a general pardon of their offences, and sometimes amounted to very large sums. In the ministers' accounts, 16 Edward the Fourth, the mises of the shire of Caermarthen alone amounted to 800 marks. The justices of the two provinces were sometimes itinerant, and sat in all the several counties of their respective provinces. There were also inferior courts held in each shire, to try causes of lesser moment, called the petty sessions, as in England. The Marches of Wales had a distinct government of their own. The barons of the Marches held them by right of conquest, William the Conqueror having placed divers of his followers on the borders, with permission to keep what they could conquer from the Welsh, and exercised a kind of palatine jurisdiction over them, subject only to the king. The council of the Marches was established in the reign of Edward the Fourth, and the office of president of the council

of the Marches was a post of very high honour. It was held by Arthur prince of Wales at the time of which we treat.*

NOTE 29.

In the survey of Wales made by order of Edward the Third, when the revenue of the entire principality amounted to no more than 4,681*l.* 12*s.* 5*d.* that of the island of Anglesey was 832*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* being about a fifth of the whole.

NOTE 30.

“The wine is circulated in a large cup, from which the company drink alternately.” †

NOTE 31.

The English appear to have been celebrated from the earliest times for their love of fine clothes, and the extravagance of their fashions. Chamberlayne says ‡ that “they were extravagantly foolish and superfluous in their apparel;” and so changeable, that “an Englishman was wont to be pictured naked, with a pair of taylor’s shears in his hand, and a piece of cloth under his arm, and verses annexed, intimating that he knew not what fashion of clothes to have.” Before the Reformation many laws were made to restrain this passion. In the year 1464 § an act was passed, wherein it was ordained that none below the dignity of a lord or knight of the garter, or their wives, should be allowed to wear purple, or any manner of cloth of gold, velvet or sable furs, under a penalty of 20 marks.

That none below knights bachelors, mayors, and aldermen, and their wives, should wear satin or ermine, under a penalty of 10 marks.

That none but such as had possessions to the amount of 40*s.* per annum should be permitted to wear *fustian*, *bustian*, or scarlet cloth, and no fur, but black or white lamb, on forfeiture of 40*s.*

That no yeoman, nor any under that degree, should be allowed to stuff or

* Pierce Enderbie’s Cambria Triumphans.

† Erasmus Epist. 447, from Henry’s History of England.

‡ Chamberlayne’s Angliae Notitia, from Malcolm’s History of England.

Antiquarian Repertory.

bolster their doublets, to wear short cloaks or jackets, or shoes with pikes passing the length of eleven inches, under a penalty of 20*s.*

That no husbsndman should use broad cloth at above 11*s.* a yard, nor hose above 14*d.* a pair; nor their wives kerchiefs whereof the price should exceed 12*d.* nor girdles harnessed with silver, upon pain of forfeiting at every default 40*d.*

And because foreign kerchiefs were brought into the country, and sold at such extravagant prices, it was ordained that any one selling lawne, *nyfell*, *umple*, or other manner of kerchief whereof the price should exceed 10*s.* the seller should forfeit a mark for every one that he sold above that price.

The dress of the English at the period here treated of is also reported to have been “exceedingly fantastic and absurd, insomuch that it was even difficult to distinguish one sex from the other;”* from the portraits however, which we have of this date, it must have been far from ungraceful. In a M.S. called “the Boke of Curtasye,” the chamberlain is commanded to provide the following articles of apparel for his master’s uprising,—“A clene sherte and breche, a *petticotte*, a doublette, a long cotte, a stomacher, hys hosen, hys socks, and hys schoen.” The shirts were bordered with lace, and curiously adorned with needlework. One which had belonged to Arthur Prince of Wales, made of long lawn, and beautifully embroidered with blue silk round the collar and wrists, was in the possession of the late John Gage, Esq. Director of the Society of Antiquaries. Shoes were worn as absurdly broad now, as they had been a few years before peaked; the front being sometimes about twelve inches in breadth. (There is a picture at Longford Castle, the seat of the Earl of Radnor, by Holbein, of two full-length figures, the names unknown, with shoes exactly answering to this description.) Both men and women wore their hair long and flowing; and the men wore square caps. One cap peculiar to this period is still seen on the head of the knaves in our playing cards. The female costume was with long, full sleeves, and tight wristbands, the gown cut square in front, with a stomacher, and a belt fastened by a buckle. On the head a net of gold wire, or a capuchon, like that worn in the Basque Provinces, was generally adopted.

We may form some idea of the magnificence displayed by the nobility in

* History of British Costume.

their dress at this time, from the account given by Stowe of the marriage of Prince Arthur with Katharine of Arragon, A.D. 1501,* where the duke of Buckingham is said to have worn “a gowne wrought of needle worke, and set upon cloth of tissue, furred with sables, the which gowne was valued at 1,500*l.*” Sir Nicholas Vaux, knight, wore “a gowne of purple velvet, pight with pieces of golde so thick and massie that it was valued in gold, beside the silk and fur, at 1,000*l.*; and a collar of Esses, which weighed, as the goldsmiths who made it reported, 800*lb.* of nobles.” (The first mention of the collar of the order of the garter occurs in this reign.) Sir Thomas Brandon, master of the king’s horse, wore a chain valued at 1,400*l.*; and William de Rivers, esq. master of the king’s hawks, another, valued at 1000*l.* For a specimen of the *variety*, as well as the magnificence used by the nobility in their dress at this period, I shall refer my readers to the inventory of “the apparell and wardrobe stuff” of Henry earl of Stafford, only son of the duke of Buckingham, and of the countess his wife, given in the Appendix.

The following items, extracted † from the accounts of Sir Thomas Lestrange, of Hunstanton, in the county of Norfolk (son of Sir Robert Lestrange, knight of the body to King Henry the Seventh), may not be uninteresting, as showing the prices at which the common articles of apparel were sold at about this time. It is dated 1519, and appears to have been kept by his servant.

- “ vj payre of gloves for my master, ijs. viijd.
- iiij yerds of blacke satten, xxjs.
- 1 yerde and di. of yellow satten, xjs. iiijd.
- 1 payre of showes for my master, ixd.
- ij ellis of rybband for a gyrdell for hym, xxd.
- ij yerds of rybband for garters for hym, viijd.
- 1 yerde and qrtr. of crymsyn satten, xviijs. viijd.
- xv yerds of chamblett to make my master a gowne, xxxvs. viijd.
- A furre trymming of blacke cony for do. ijs.
- ij yerds and di. of blacke fustyan for a doblett of my master, xxd.
- ijj qrtrs. of blacke velvett to make him a cappe, viijs.
- 1 yerd and di. of lynen clothe for lynyng of the doblett, vjd.

* Stowe’s Annales.

† Archæologia.

ijj ellis of Hollande clothe for a sherte for hym, vjs.
 A yerde of lace for hym, viijd.
 A millen blacke bonett for hym, vs. iiijd.
 ijj yerds of redd clothe, xjs."

NOTE 32.

Polydore Vergil also remarks upon the courteous manners of the English at this time, which he says greatly resembled those of the Italians.*

NOTE 33.

"It was thought enough for a nobleman's sons to winde their horne, and to carry their hawke fair, and leave study and learning to the children of mean people."†

NOTE 34.

Magdalen College was founded by William Patten of Waynfleet, Bishop of Winchester, for a president, forty fellows, thirty scholars, four presbyters, eight singing clerks, sixteen choristers, with suitable officers and clerks. The foundation was laid in 1458, and the structure completed in 1479. The tower was added by Cardinal Wolsey. Richard Mayen, almoner to King Henry the Seventh, was at this time the president of Magdalen.

NOTE 35.

There were several different office books in use before the Reformation, in England. The most common was that entitled "Missal after the Use of Sarum," which was compiled by Osmund Bishop of Salisbury, chancellor to William the Conqueror. This prelate was canonized early in the fifteenth century.

NOTE 36.

By a bull of Pope Nicholas the Fifth, in 1453, it was ordered that every householder who was ~~rented~~ at ten shillings per annum should pay one farthing every offering day to the church. He that was rated at twenty shillings should pay a halfpenny, and so on, increasing at the rate of a farthing for every ten shillings. The usual Sunday offering of the higher

* Pol. Vergil, p. 15.

† Biog. Britannica, vol. 3. From Henry's History of England, vol. 10.

orders varied from a penny to a groat ; that of the King was always *six shillings and eight pence*. Whether there was any coin of this value then in circulation is uncertain. Edward the Fourth coined a gold piece called an angel (from a figure of an angel on the reverse), which passed for this sum, and it was also the nominal value of a noble.*

NOTE 37.

Although the accusation of intemperance in eating and drinking so frequently brought against the English by foreigners may not be devoid of foundation, and although it was said by Peter of Blois,† “ When you behold our barons and knights going upon a military expedition, you see their baggage horses loaded, not with iron, but wine ! not with lances, but cheeses ! not with swords, but bottles ! not with spears, but spits ! You would imagine they were going to prepare a great feast, rather than to make war ! ” Yet there is no instance upon record in the history of England, of the national love of comfort having ever interfered with, or impeded, their military duties.

NOTE 38.

The writer appears to have mistaken the application of the term *apprentice*, which was only used to express those bound for a term of years to serve another person, in order to learn his trade ; or barristers, who were at this time called “ apprentices of the law.” He is perfectly correct, however, in his statement that the children of the first nobility were boarded out, instead of being brought up at home ; but the reason for this practise it is difficult at this distance of time to determine. The indenture here subjoined, arranging the terms upon which the children of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, were to board with Mrs. Margaret Hexstall, gentlewoman, is, with the kind permission of Lord Bagot, transcribed from the original paper in the Stafford MSS. at Blithfield.

‡ “ Thagreement betwixt the Duke’s Treasurer of his howshold, and a gentlewoman :

“ This indenture made the xxvij day of the monthe of June, in the xvijth yeare of the reigne of our Sovereign Lord, King Henry the Seventh,

* Arnold’s Chronicle. Fleetwood’s Chronicon Preciosum.

† P. Blesensis, Ep. 94, coll. 2. From Henry’s History of England.

‡ Stafford MSS.

betwixt Robert Turberville, Threasurer of the Household to the high and mightie prince Edward Duke of Buckingham, on the one parte, and Margaret Hexstall, on the other parte,—witnesseth yt it is covenanted and agreed betwixt the said parties, and that the said Margaret shall daylie and nightlie, during the tyme of absence of my Lord and my Ladye, geve good and dewe attendance unto my Lord Stafford, sonne and heire unto my said Lord's Grace, and unto my younge Ladyes, daughters unto the same, within his Manner of Blechinglyke, or els where w^tthin the countie of Surrey, yt by chaunce, for suretie and safeguard of my said Lord of Stafford, and younge Ladyes, it shall so require. And that remove, yf it shall so happe, not be done but by thadvice and counsell of Jhon Scot, counsellor unto my said Lord's Grace. And hit is agreed that the said Margaret shall, at her proper cost and charge, fynde all manner vytall, good and wholesome for the bodyes, as well for my said Lord of Stafford, and young Ladyes, as for suche others as for the tyme shall be appointed to geve their attendance unto my said Lord and Ladyes, to the nomber of seventyne prsons. And that my said Lord of Stafford and yonge Ladyes be daylie served with foure or fyve dyshes of such fleshe or fysche as by discretion of the said Margaret shall be thought convenient for the season of the yeare. And all other sarvents to have metely and convenient fare ; and for this, the said high and mightie prince to pay weekly unto the said Margaret, as well for my said Lord of Stafford and yonge Ladyes, as for all and every of thotheres, geving unto them attendance to the nomber aforesaid, twenty pence a week, which will amounte weeklie to the some of *xxvij's iiij'd.* And it is agreed that the said Margaret, to make provissyon of thingis necessary to thintent above written, shall have delivered unto hir beforehand, the som of fyve marks, to be recovered as p^t of payment of boarding of the said seventyne prsons ; and my said Lord's Grace to fynd, at his cost and chardge, bedding and fuell as shal be resonably thought convenient for the tyme. And all the said prsons, except the said Margaret Hexstall, so geving their attendance, to be paid there wages at the chardge of my said Lordes Grace, and all manner of stuffe and implements of every office, conveniently to serve my said Lord of Stafford, younge Ladyes, and other the number aforesaid, to be had at the proper cost and chardge of the said Margaret.

“ In witnesse whereof, the prties aforesaid to thies indenture sunderly have sette their seales. Geven the day and yere above declared.”

The severity of parents at this time was so great, that the children perfectly loathed the sight of them ; nor did their discipline relax as they grew older,* “ for daughters, grown women, and sons, gentlemen of thirty and forty years old, might not sit in their presence without leave, but stood like mutes bare-headed before them.”

NOTE 39.

This must allude to Richard de la Pole, surnamed the White Rose, on account of his personal beauty, the youngest brother of Edmund de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk at this time ; the two intermediate brothers being churchmen. After the decapitation of his brother in 1513, Richard assumed the title of Duke of Suffolk, notwithstanding the attainder. He went into the French service, and was killed at the battle of Pavia, in 1524. He left no issue, and, as I can find no mention of his marriage, we must remain in ignorance of the name of his interesting bride.

NOTE 40.

This statement is corroborated by Polydore Vergil, who was in England at this time. “ There are few,” says he, “ whose tables are not daily provided with spoons, cups, and a salt-cellar of silver.” † At the marriage feast of Prince Arthur, held in the palace of the Bishop of London,‡ “ there was in the great hall a cupboard of five stages in height, being triangled, the which was set with plate, valued at 1,200*l.*, the which was never moved all that day ; and in the other chamber, where the princess dined, was a cupboard of gold plate, garnished with stores and pearls, valued above 20,000*l.*;” and the profusion of plate displayed a few years later (1528) by Cardinal Wolsey, when he entertained the French Ambassadors and their suite at Hampton Court, seems almost incredible. There were two banqueting rooms, (the company consisting of 280 persons,) in each of which a cupboard extended along the whole length of the apartment, piled to the top with plate ; and every guest chamber, for the whole number were

* Antiquarian Repertory, from the MS. in the Ashmolean Library.

† Polydore Vergil.

‡ Stowe’s Annales.

lodged there, had * “a bason and ewer of silver, a great livery pot of silver, and some guilt ; yea, and some chambers had two livery pots, with wine and beer ; a silver candlestick, having in it two sizes ; yet the cupboards in the banqueting rooms were never once touched.”

Drinking cups, salt-cellars, and spoons were the only articles of silver in common use at table in those days ; the *trenchones* or plates being of bread or *treen* (wooden), and the dishes of pewter in the greatest families, as may be seen in the Northumberland House Book.

All strangers,† with the exception of ambassadors and their suite, leaving the kingdom were searched, and none were allowed to take above twenty crowns in cash with them ; if they had wealth to carry away, they were obliged to convert it into merchandise, as the gold and silver must remain in the country.

NOTE 41.

The great monasteries had at this period reached the acme of their wealth and magnificence ; but the excess of luxury in which their inmates indulged, and the notorious profligacy of their lives, had already attracted the notice and displeasure of Pope Innocent the Eighth, who sent a bull to Cardinal Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, in A.D. 1490, directing him to admonish all the abbots and priors in his province to reform themselves and those under them, with a threat of excommunication, should they refuse to obey. This monitory letter, however, appears to have produced very little effect, and the increasing scandal of the monastic houses was one of the chief causes of their destruction in the succeeding reign. These monasteries were, for the most part, entirely independent of the bishops in whose dioceses they were severally placed, and acknowledged no supreme lord besides the pope. The splendid hospitality and charity which they practised made their suppression very unpopular throughout the country. “It was,” says a contemporary author, “a pitiful thing to hear the lamentations that the people of the country made for them, for there was great hospitality kept among them, and thousands of persons, masters and servants, had lost their livings by the putting down of them.” To give some

* Stowe’s Annales.

† Stephen Perlin’s Description of England, A.D. 1558. From the Antiquarian Repertory.



idea of the noble scale of monastic hospitality, the abbot of St. Alban's entertained every traveller that came to his gates for three days ; at the priory of St. Thomas of Canterbury there was a hall 150 feet long, and 40 broad, appropriated to the accommodation of poor pilgrims, with a steward and attendant attached, who furnished its tables with a regular allowance from the office of the cellarer ; which liberalities were distinct from the daily distribution to the poor of all the fragments of the refectory ; and many others might be adduced who lived on an equally magnificent scale. Great state was kept up in the principal monasteries ; when the abbot of St. Alban's dined, his table was raised fifteen steps above the rest of the hall, and in serving him the monks performed a hymn at every fifth step. He sat alone in the middle of his table, and when he received any guests of very high rank, they were only admitted to sit at the ends. Good cheer was considered almost as a part of their religion ; and Ingulphus, who was a monk of Croyland Abbey, in his history of that monastery, passes a high panegyric upon Lawrence Chateres, the cook there, who, "prompted by the love of God, and zeal for religion, had given forty pounds for the recreation of the convent with milk of almonds on fish days."*

NOTE 42.

The priory of Christ Church at Canterbury, after Becket's martyrdom and burial in the church, was called after his name till the Reformation, when the cathedral resumed its former appellation.

NOTE 43.

The horns of the sword fish were supposed to be the horns of the unicorn, before it was ascertained that no such animal existed.

NOTE 44.

St. Oswald, the first christian king of Northumberland, who was slain at the battle of Maserfeld, A.D. 642, by Penda, king of Mercia, was buried at Bardney in Lincolnshire, where in the year 712, Ethelred, king of Mercia, founded an abbey, which he dedicated to St. Peter, St. Paul, and

* Henry's History of England. Stowe's Annales. Antiquarian Repertory. Woolnoth's Canterbury Cathedral. Leland's Collectanea.

St. Oswald the king. Bede tells us that over the king's tomb was a banner of purple and gold, and that it was incredible what multitudes flocked there to shew their veneration for this good prince. In A.D. 870, the monastery was totally destroyed by the Danish princes Hinguar and Hubba, who murdered all the monks, and burnt the church. It was rebuilt and restored by Gilbert de Gant, earl of Lincoln, A.D. 1115. Bardney was a mitred abbey, and had many privileges; the abbots were formerly styled "Lords of Lindsey." The shrine of St. Oswald, and many other stately monuments in the church were entirely destroyed at the dissolution of the abbey. The 9th of August was the day dedicated to St. Oswald in the kalendar.*

NOTE 45.

St. Edmund was nephew to Offa, king of the East Angles, whom he succeeded; and after reigning fifteen years was taken by the Danish princes Hinguar and Hubba, at Henglesdune, (Hoxne) in Suffolk; where, for his confession of the christian faith, he was first cruelly whipped, then bound to a tree and shot at with arrows, and lastly beheaded. His head was thrown into a thick grove of bushes and briars; but afterwards being found, it was buried with the body, and a chapel of wood erected over the grave. In process of time, he was removed to Kingston, in the same county,† where "a very great church was built, wrought with a wonderful frame of timber," where it began to be called Sancti Edmundi Burgus, and afterwards St. Edmundsbury. At length, King Canute, to expiate the wickedness of his father Sweyno, and being more particularly concerned for this church by reason of a vision of St. Edmund which had appeared to him, built the whole church anew, and adorned it with many royal gifts: more especially he caused "the holy king and martyr to be laid in a goodly shrine set with jewels and precious stones, and offered his own crown to be placed on his head," in A.D. 1020. The martyrdom of St. Edmund took place according to some in A.D. 805; according to others in 866. The 20th of November was the day dedicated to him in the kalendar. The shrine and church of St. Edmund were entirely demolished at the dissolution of the abbey.

Lidgate,‡ a monk of St. Edmundsbury, who lived in the reign of Henry

* Leland's Collectanea, vol. vi.

† Leland's Collectanea.

‡ Strutt's Sports and Pastimes.

the Sixth, gives the following legendary account of the death of St Edmund, in his poetical life of him. “A Danish chieftain of high rank, named Lothbroc, amusing himself with his hawk near the sea, upon the western coast of Denmark, the bird, in pursuit of her game, fell into the water. Lothbroc, anxious for her safety, got into a little boat that was at hand, and rowed from the shore to take her up ; but, before he could return to the land, a sudden storm arose, and he was driven out to sea. After a voyage of infinite peril, he reached the coast of Norfolk, and landed at a port called Rodham : he was immediately seized by the inhabitants and sent to the court of Edmund, king of the East Angles. When that monarch was made acquainted with the cause of his coming, he received him very favourably, and soon became particularly attached to him, on account of his great skill in the training and flying of hawks. The partiality which Edmund manifested for this unfortunate stranger excited the jealousy of Beoric, the king’s falconer, who took an opportunity of murdering the Dane, whilst he was exercising his birds in the midst of a wood, and secreted the body ; which was afterwards discovered by the vigilance of a favourite dog. Beoric was apprehended, and convicted of the murder ; and condemned to be put into an open boat, without oars, mast, or rudder, and in that condition abandoned to the mercy of the ocean. It so chanced that the boat was wafted to the very point of land that Lothbroc came from ; and Beoric, escaped from the danger of the waves, was apprehended by the Danes, and taken before the chieftains of the country, named Hinguar and Hubba, who were both the sons of Lothbroc. The crafty falconer soon learned this circumstance, and, in order to acquire their favour, made them acquainted with the murder of their father, which he affirmed was executed at the command of King Edmund, and that he himself had suffered the hardship at sea, from which he had been delivered by reaching the shore, because he had the courage to oppose the king’s order, and endeavour to save the life of the Danish nobleman. Incited by this atrocious falsehood to revenge the murder of their father by force of arms, the two princes invaded the kingdom of the East Angles, pillaged the country, and having taken the king prisoner, caused him to be tied to a stake and shot to death with arrows.”

NOTE 46.

King Edward the Martyr was the son of Edgar, whom he succeeded. He was stabbed in the back with a dagger, by order of his step-mother, Elfrida, while drinking, on horseback, at the gate of Corfe Castle, in the island of Purbeck. This king was much beloved by his subjects ; and two days were dedicated to his honour in the kalendar of the Church of England : the 18th of March, to commemorate his death ; and the 20th of June, in remembrance of the translation of his remains from Wareham to the abbey church of Shaftesbury, which took place three years after his decease. The concourse of pilgrims to his shrine at Shaftesbury was immense, and many miracles were pretended to be wrought there.

NOTE 47.

The body of king Edward the Confessor, which had been buried in the abbey church at Westminster, which he had built, was removed into the shrine, still to be seen in St. Edward's Chapel, on his canonization by Pope Alexander the Third, A.D. 1269, by Henry the Third. This shrine, so degraded now, was the work of Peter Cavalini, a Roman artist, who was brought from Italy by Richard de Ware, then abbot of Westminster, and lord treasurer of England. It was once esteemed the glory of the country, and was composed of stones of various colours, beautifully enriched with the most costly workmanship. The number and magnificence of the offerings made at this tomb baffle all attempts at description. The 13th of October was the day set apart in the kalendar to celebrate the translation of this king's remains. The abbey church of Westminster narrowly escaped the fate of so many of the other great abbeys at the time of their dissolution ; for the Duke of Somerset, after having destroyed those of Glastonbury and Reading, which had been granted to him, designed to have done the same by this, had not seventeen manors of its revenues, the palaces of three bishops, two churches, the cloisters of St. Paul's, &c., all in the precincts of the city of London and Westminster, been given to him in lieu thereof, towards furnishing materials for building his house in the Strand. This abbey possessed some exclusive privileges, such as freedom from military service, exemption from all taxes, &c. John Estney was

abbot of Westminster at this time. He built the great west window at his own charge, and gave several splendid ornaments to the church.*

NOTE 48.

The church of St. Martin at Tours had been most magnificently enriched and adorned by King Louis the Eleventh, not very long before the time of which we are treating; for we find in Monstrelet, that, in the year 1478, that king, † “pour sa grande et singulière cōfidence, que de tout temps il a eu à Monseigneur S. Martin de Tours, voulut et ordonna estre fait un grand treillis d'argent, tout au tour de la chasse du dict S. Martin : lequel y fut faict, et pesoit de seize à dixsept mille mares d'argent, qui cousta avant qu'estre prest tout assis bein deux cens mille francs. Et est à sçavoir que pour finer de la dicte grande quantité d'argent, à faire les ouvrages dessusdits, furent ordonnez commissaires pour prendre et saisir toute la vaisselle qu'on pouvait trouver à Paris, et autres villes, laquelle vaisselle fut payée raisonnablement : mais non obstât ce en fut grande quantité mussée, et ne fut plus veüe ēs lieux où elle avoit accoustumée de courir. Et à ceste cause de là en avant quād on alloit aux nopus franches et autres, où on avoit accoustumé d'y en veoir largement, n'y estoient trouvez que beaux verres, et esquieres de feugière.” This costly trellis was melted down by Francis the First ‡ into coin, called “*les testons au gros bonnet.*”

NOTE 49.

The following account of Becket's shrine is given by Stowe. “The shrine,” says he, “was built about a man's height all of stone, then upward of timber plain, within the which was a chest of iron, containing the bones of Thomas Becket. The timber work of this shrine on the outside was covered with plates of gold, damasked with gold wire, which ground of gold was again covered with jewels of gold, as rings ten or twelve cramped with gold wire into the said ground of gold, many of those rings having stones in them, brooches, images, angels, precious stones, and great pearls ; the spoil of which shrine in gold and jewels filled two great chests, such as

* Willis's Mitred Abbeys.

† Chroniques de Monstrelet, vol. 3.

‡ Miss Costello's Bocages and Vines.

six or eight strong men could do no more than convey one of them at once out of the church, all of which was taken to the king's use at the dissolution of monasteries." It was also described by Erasmus, as "a coffin of wood covering a coffin of gold, which being drawn up by ropes and pulleys, an invaluable treasure was discovered. Gold was the meanest thing to be seen there. All shone and glittered with the rarest and most precious jewels, of an extraordinary bigness ; some were larger than the egg of a goose. When this sight was shewn, the prior, with a white wand, touched every jewel, one by one, telling the name, the value, and the donor of it."

The altar which stood near the shrine was called *Altare tumæ beati Thomæ Martyris.* The ruby was the gift of Louis the Seventh king of France, and was believed to be the finest in Europe. It was called "the regal of France," and was caused by King Henry the Eighth, at the Reformation, to be set in a ring, which he wore upon his thumb. The 7th of July was the day dedicated to St. Thomas à Becket.

The cathedral church of Canterbury was at this time in the plenitude of her wealth and splendour. Thomas Goldsmith, the prior, a man of taste and learning (who was employed by Henry the Seventh as ambassador to Charles the Eighth king of France), and Cardinal Morton, the archbishop, seemed to vie with each other in their zeal for its honour ; and under their direction the central tower, called the Angel Steeple and the Bell Harry Tower, had just been completed, the crypt had been improved, and the beautiful gate at the entrance of the close built. The choir and eastern end of the interior were hung with tapestry superbly embroidered. The brass eagle still used as a reading-desk was the gift of the prior Goldstone ; and the ornaments of gold, silver, and jewels, which decorated the various chapels and altars, and the number of rich vestments, of all of which there is a list given in the Appendix to Dart's Antiquities of Canterbury, are almost incredible.*

NOTE 50.

If the scantiness of population was remarkable in the reign of Richard the Second, it was probably no less so in that of Henry the Seventh, for

* Stowe's Annales. Woolnoth's Canterbury Cathedral. Burnet's History of the Reformation. Willis's History of Mitred Abbeys, Convents, Churches, &c. Dart's Antiquities of Canterbury.

the depopulation during the reigns of Henry the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth, from foreign and civil wars, pestilence and famine, was prodigious. In the last year of king Henry the Fifth, an act passed allowing sheriffs and escheators to serve for *four* years instead of one, as fixed by statute in the 14th Edward the Third,* “because there was *then* a sufficient number of gentlemen in every county of England, well qualified to fill these offices to the satisfaction of the king and his subjects; and whereas, by divers pestilences and foreign wars, there is not a sufficiency at present of proper persons to fill these offices.” The destructive French war during the minority of Henry the Sixth, followed by the bloody contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, still further thinned the already diminished ranks of the people; and sufficient time had not yet elapsed for the country to have recovered from her state of exhaustion.

NOTE 51.

The skill of the English archers has been celebrated, in story and in song, from the earliest period. Although at this time fire-arms had begun to creep into use, the bow was still the principal weapon employed by the soldiery; as may be seen by referring to the indentures for raising troops in A.D. 1492, in Rymer’s *Fœdera*, where all the common soldiers are styled *archers*.† King Henry the Seventh was a great promoter of archery, and was partial to the exercise himself. He caused,‡ in the year 1498, “all the gardens which had been continued time out of mind without Moore Gate of London, to be destroyed, and of them to be made a plain field for archers to shoot in.” Both his sons were also extremely fond of archery; it is said of Prince Henry§ that “he shotte as strong and as great a lengthe as any of his garde;” and his daughter Margaret,|| on her way into Scotland to marry King James the Fourth, killed a buck with an arrow in Alnwick park. It would surprise the degenerate archers of the present day, to hear the distances to which their ancestors were accustomed to shoot at marks, or to wield their weapons. In the reign of Henry the Eighth, an act passed¶ forbidding any person who had attained the age of

* Stat. 9 Henry the Fifth, from Henry’s History of England.

† Rymer’s *Fœdera*. ‡ Stowe’s *Annales*. § Hall’s *Chronicle*.

|| Leland’s *Collectanea*.

¶ Strutt’s *Sports and Pastimes*.

24 years to shoot at a mark at less than *two hundred and twenty yards* distance ; and the arrows used by the Cornish men, who were esteemed the best archers, were a full cloth-yard in length.

NOTE 52.

Fynes Morrison, who lived in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, observes that it is peculiar to England that any one may arrest a murderer, and carry him before a magistrate ; as in Italy, and most parts of the continent, no one can interfere on these occasions but an officer of justice, who may be at a great distance from the spot. At the time that our author was in England, very undue advantage was taken of this power of arrest, as the rapacity of Henry the Seventh and his ministers caused many innocent persons to be thrown into prison, for the purpose of extorting heavy fines from them.*.

NOTE 53.

The English have always been accused of a strong propensity to thieve ; it was even laid to their charge by Dio Cassius,† at so remote a period as in the time of the Romans. Robbery was severely punished by the Saxons, insomuch, that in the reign of Athelstan,‡ it was enacted, that “no one should lose his life for stealing less than *twelve pence*.” By William the Conqueror the laws against it were enforced with such success that it was said “a young girl might, without danger, carry a burthen of gold through all places of England safe.”§ In later times, however, either from the relaxation of discipline, or that the natural inclination was too strong to be restrained, it increased to a tremendous degree ; and it is stated by Holinshed|| that no fewer than twenty-two thousand persons were executed for theft during the reign of Henry the Eighth. The number of persons reduced to beggary by the dissolution of the monasteries may, in some degree, account for this enormous list of malefactors.

NOTE 54.

That this account is by no means overcharged may be seen by a quotation from the speech of the Lord Protector in Council, A.D. 1483, given in

* Barrington on the Statutes.

† Camden's Britannia.

‡ Brewer's Beauties of England and Wales,

§ Stowe's Annales.

|| Holinshead's Chronicle.

the Life of Edward the Fifth,* attributed to Sir Thomas More, (though some have ascribed it to Cardinal Morton.)

“ Looke me now, how few sanctuarie men there be, whom any favorable necessitie compelled to go thither : and then see what a rabble of thieves, murderers, and malicious haynous traitors there be commonly therein.

“ How unthrifts riot and run in debt, upon the boldness of those places, yea, and rich men run thither with poor men’s goods, there they build, there they spend, and bid their creditors go whistle them. Men’s wives run thither with their husband’s plate, and say that they dare not abide with their husbands for beating.

“ Thieves bring thither their stolen goods, and live thereon. They devise there new robberies, nightly they steal out, they robbe, and reave, and kill, and come in again, as though those places gave them not only a safeguard for the harm they have done, but a license also to do more.”

The abuse of sanctuaries was, in fact, at this time carried to such an extent that king Henry the Seventh was forced to appeal to the pope to procure a limitation of their privileges ; and in July, 1483, he obtained a bull from Innocent the Eighth,† to this effect, “ That thieves, murderers, and highwaymen, those who destroy the country in the night, if they go out of their sanctuaries to commit any mischief and return again, might be taken out,—that as to others, their retreat into sanctuaries should not be prejudicial to their creditors, if they entered therein on purpose to defraud them,—that if persons suspected of high treason be found in the sanctuaries, the king might, after their being convicted of it, send guards to hinder them from going out.” By another bull of Pope Julius the Second, A.D. 1504, persons suspected of high treason were allowed to be taken out and delivered to justice, though they had not been convicted before.

The description given of the manner in which malefactors who had taken sanctuary were conducted out of the kingdom is quite correct, according to a statute in the custom hall of the Cinque Ports, corrected and amended in the reigns of Henry the Seventh and Eighth.‡

“ Dover.—And when any shall flee into the church or churchedyard for felony, claiming thereof the priviledge for any action of his life, the head officer of the same liberty where the said church or churchedyard is, with his

* Sir Thos. More’s Life of Edward the Fifth.

† Rymer’s Fœdera.

‡ Antiquarian Repertory.

fellow jurats or commoners of the same liberty, shall come to him and shall ask him the cause of being there, and if he will not confess felony immediately, it shall be entered in record, and his goods and chattels shall be forfeited, and he shall tarry there forty days, or before, if he will, he shall make his abjuration in form following before the head officer, who shall assign to him the port of his passage ; and after his abjuration there shall be delivered unto him by the head officer, or his assignees, a cross, and proclamation shall be made that while he be going by the highway towards the port to him assigned, he shall go in the king's peace, and that no man shall grieve him in so doing, on pain to forfeit his goods and chattels. And the said felon shall lay his right hand on the book, and swear this :—

“ ‘ You hear, Mr. Coroner, that I a thief, have stolen such a thing, or have killed such a woman, or man, or a child, and am the king's felon, and for that I have done many evil deeds and felonys in this same his land, I do adjure and forswear the lands of the kings of England, and that I shall haste myself to the port of which you have given or assigned me ; and that I shall not go out of the highway, and if I do, I will that I shall be taken as a thief, and the king's felon, and at the same place I shall tarry but one ebb and flood, if I may have passage ; and if I cannot have passage in the same place, I shall go every day into the sea to my knees and above, crying, *Passage, for the love of God, and King his sake*; and if I may not within forty days together, I shall get me again into the church, as the king's felon.

“ ‘ So help me God, and by this book according to your judgment ! ’

“ And if a clerk flying to the church for felony, affirming himself to be a clerk, he shall not abjure the realm, but yielding himself to the laws of the realm, shall enjoy the libertys of the church, and shall be delivered to the ordinary, to be kept safe to the convict prison, according to the laudable custom of the realm of England.”

The privilege of sanctuary is said to have been originally granted to our churches and their precincts by Lucius, the first Christian King of Britain.* A Pope's bull, however, was necessary to give them a legal title. After the Reformation, they fell into disrepute, none but the most profligate and abandoned resorting to them. They still, however, continued to exist, and

* Brewer's Description of London. Pennant's London.

in A.D. 1697 were considered such nuisances, from the harbour they afforded to rogues of every description, that an act was passed for the suppression of the most notorious ; but they were not finally abolished till the reign of George the First, at which time the sanctuary of St. Peter, Westminster (which stood on the north side of St. Margaret's churchyard), was pulled down. It was of such immense strength, that this was with great difficulty effected. This sanctuary at Westminster, and that of St. Martin le Grand, were the two principal in London.

NOTE 55.

Laymen who could read enjoyed the privilege of clergy since the 25th Edward the Third, which allowance was never condemned in parliament, nor complained of as a grievance, but rather approved of, till in the year 1499 it had become subject to so much abuse that an act was passed for making a distinction between mere lay scholars and clerks who were really in orders, by which it was ordained, that the former, on the first offence, should be branded on the head with an M, if murderers ; with a T, if thieves ; and if any thus marked should again commit the like crime or offence, they should suffer the full penalty of the law.*

NOTE 56.

England was first divided by Alfred into parts or sections, which were called *shires*, from the Saxon word *schyran*, to cut. There were thirty-six shires, *without* the principality of Wales, which are thus enumerated by Hygden in his Polychronicon, “ Kent, Southsex, Sortherye, Hampshyre, Barokshire (that hath his name from the bare ooke that is in the forest of Wyndesore, for at that ooke men of that shyre were wonte to come to gydder and make thyr treates, and there take counsell and advyse), Wyldshire, Somerset, Dorset, Devenshyre, Eestsex, Myddlesex, Southfolke, Northfolke, Hartfordshire, Huntyngdonshyre, Northamptonshyre, Cambryggeshire, Bedfordshyre, Buykinghamshyre, Leycestershyre, Derbyshyre, Snotyngham or Notynghamshyre, Lyncolnshyre, Yorkshyre, Duramshyre, Northumberlonde, Caerlyleshyre with Comberlonde, Appelbyshyre with Westmorelonde, Lancashyre, Oxenfordshyre, Warwykshyre, Gloucestershyre, Wyracetreshyre, Herfordshyre, Shropshyre, Staffordshyre, and

* Jacob's Law Dictionary. Blackstone's Commentaries. Grafton's Chronicle.

Chestreshyre," (making *thirty-seven* shires, though he calls them *thirty-six!*). Cornwall was not included, being reckoned a distinct province, like Wales.* Monmouthshire was at this time a Welsh county, and Rutland is omitted entirely.

NOTE 57.

Before the Conquest there were a number of mints in England, which were chiefly kept at the great monasteries. These were afterwards restricted to the issue of the small silver coin here mentioned, which right was continued to be exercised at several of them till the Reformation. It was not till the reign of Queen Elizabeth that the entire coinage of the country was established at the Tower of London, where it was first stationed by Henry the Third.†

NOTE 58.

In the time of the Saxon kings, crown lands were only given to be held for life, or for some fixed time. William the Conqueror first made the honours granted to the nobility and gentry hereditary, in imitation of Hugh Capet, who had adopted that plan in order to support himself in his usurpation of the Crown of France, in A.D. 947.‡

NOTE 59.

In the reign of Henry the Seventh§ there were but two ways of becoming *a gentleman*, either by a grant from the king, or by executing certain offices; and Sir Thomas Smith (who wrote in the reign of Edward the Sixth) says, that || "none was created *a baron* who could not dispense 1,000*l.* per annum, or at the least 1,000 marks." That no one was allowed to be a peer who could not properly support his dignity, is proved by the fact that George Neville, Duke of Bedford, was degraded by parliament, A.D. 1477, for no other reason than his poverty. Of course, however, there was no restriction upon the king's privilege of making peers. Indeed, this would not have been borne by Henry the Seventh, who was so

* Wales and Corn-Wales were both inhabited by the ancient Britons.

† Harrison's Preface to Holinshed's Chronicle. ‡ Jacob's Law Dictionary.

§ Barrington on the Statutes, from Kielway's Reports.

|| Sir Thomas Smith's De Rep. Angli.

tenacious of the royal prerogatives, that it is said that *“ he commanded all mastiff dogs throughout the kingdom to be hanged, because they durst presume to fight against the lion, who is their king and sovereign. The like he did with an excellent falcon, because he feared not hand and hand to match with an eagle, willing his falconers in his owne presence to plucke off his head after he was taken downe, saying that it was not meet for any subiecte to offer such wrong unto his lord and superior.” The ranks of the nobility had been thinned to such a degree by the civil wars of the houses of York and Lancaster, that there were only twenty-seven temporal peers summoned to the first parliament of Henry the Seventh (whose names are here subjoined); and so sparing was this prince of his honours that, although he reigned twenty-four years, no more than thirty-four peers were summoned to the first parliament of his successor.†

1. Jasper (Tudor) Duke of Bedford, uncle to the king. The title became extinct in 1497.
2. William (Fitzalan) Earl of Arundel. This title passed into the family of the Duke of Norfolk, by marriage, in 1579.
3. John (de Vere) Earl of Oxford. Title extinct in 1702.
4. Edmund (Grey) Earl of Kent. Title extinct in 1740.
5. William (Berkeley) Earl of Nottingham. Title extinct in 1492.
6. Edward (Stafford) Earl of Wiltshire, son of Humphrey Duke of Buckingham. Extinct in 1499.
7. Richard (Widevile) Earl Rivers. Extinct in 1492.
8. Thomas (Stanley) Earl of Derby, ancestor of the present earl.
9. William (Herbert) Earl of Huntingdon. Extinct in 1486.
10. Edward (Courtenay) Earl of Devon, ancestor to the present earl.
11. Ralph Graystock, knight. The barony of Graystock was carried by marriage into the family of Lord Dacre of Gilsland, and from them to the Howards of Carlisle.
12. Richard Beauchamp, de Beauchamp, knight. The Barony of Beauchamp de Powyk and Alcester extinct in 1508.
13. George Neville, de Bergavenny, ancestor to the present Earl of Abergavenny.
14. Reginald Grey, knight. Forfeited in 1604.

* Harrison's Preface to Holinshed's Chronicle.

† Dugdale's Summons to Parliament, and Baronage.

15. Richard de la Warre, knight, ancestor to the present Earl de la Warr.
16. Thomas Lomley, de Lomley, ancestor to the present Earl of Scarborough.
17. John Broke, de Cobham, knight. Extinct in 1619.
18. John Blount, de Mountjoye, knight. Extinct in 1681.
19. John Stourton, de Stourton, knight, ancestor to the present Lord Stourton.
20. John Sutton, de Dudley, knight. Title in abeyance.
21. John Denham, de Caredenham, knight. Extinct in 1502.
22. John Arundel, de Maltravers, knight, son to the Earl of Arundel. Title passed to the Duke of Norfolk.
23. Edward (Grey) Viscount Lisle, knight. Extinct in 1504.
24. John Grey, de Powis, knight. Extinct in 1552.
25. Henry Clifford, de Clifford, knight, ancestor to the present Baroness de Clifford.
26. John Ratcliffe, de Fitzwater. Extinct in 1641.
27. William (Beaumont) Viscount Beaumont. His father was the first English Viscount. Title extinct in 1507.

NOTE 60.

The magnificence and state kept up by the great feudal barons of this time was little inferior to that of a court. The princely scale on which the establishment of the Earl of Northumberland was fixed is well known by the book of the orders given to his household, which was published some years ago. The *actual* household-book of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, containing the daily entries of his housekeeping expenses from Nov. 5, 1507, to March 22, 1508, conveys a no less striking idea of the wealth and profusion of the chief nobles of that day. In this curious document, which is in the possession of Lord Bagot, at Blithfield, besides the deliveries each day from the pantry, cellar, buttery, kitchen, chandlery, and stable, is regularly noted the number of individuals at dinner and supper; to which are added the names of the principal guests, and the number of their attendants. The following entry on the feast of the Epiphany, being written in the original MS. in old abbreviated Latin, I have, for the benefit of such of my readers as are unlearned, given in the translation of John Gage, Esq. F.S.A., as printed in the *Archæologia*.

THE EPIPHANY

Thursday, the 6th of January, 1508.

Dined	{	134 Gentry 188 Yeomen or Valets 197 Garçons or Grooms	}	459
		126 Gentry 176 Valets 98 Garçons		
Supped	{		}	

Present at Dinner.

The Lady Anne, sister of the Lord, and fifteen with her.
 Robert Poyntz, knight, and nine.
 Edmund Gourge, knight, and seven.
 John Rodney, knight, and six.
 Maurice Barkley, and nine.
 Richard Barkley, and five.
 James Barkley, and three.
 Anthony Poyntz, and three.
 Thomas Welshe, and three.
 Richard Frye, and three.
 William Kingston, and three.
 Doctor Thower, and four.
 The two Auditors, and five.
 Robert P'rill (Peverill ?), and two.
 Humphrey Blount, and two.
 John Burrell, and two.
 Edward Garthe, and two.
 The Bailiff of Hatfield Broadoak, and two.
 The Bailiff of Oakham, and two.
 The Bailiff of Navisby.
 The Bailiff of Rowell.
 Two of the Lord's tenants of Penshurst.
 One of Blechingley.

Hugh Boughhey, and two.
 The Receiver of Newport, and two.
 William Kemys.
 Thomas Morgan, and three.
 William Morgan.
 Two others, doing service to the Lord of Newport.
 Twelve doing service to the Lord of Brecon, with ten attendants.
 Master John Barton, chaplain.
 Eighteen singers, and nine boys of the chapel.
 The Receiver of Surrey and Kent, and three.
 Three tenants of the Lord of Brecon.
 The Vicar of Christchurch, and two.
 Two cooks from Bristol ; Henry Dunstan ; the two minstrels ; the six trumpeters ; the four waites from Bristol ; four players from Writhill ; one bondman ; the Abbot of Kingswood, and four with him ; forty-two from the town, and ninety-five from the country.

Pantry. Spent, 678 loaves, 3 quarters, 2 manchets,* price 18*s.* 11*½d.* ; from which, in breakfasts, 48 loaves and a half ; whereof, to the Lord, 1 loaf, 2 manchets ; to the Lady, 2 loaves, 2 manchets ; the Lord Stafford, 1 loaf, 1 manchet ; the Lady Anne, 2 loaves, 2 manchets ; the Lord Edward, 1 ; the Treasurer, 1 ; the Auditor, 1 ; William Kingiston, 1 loaf, 1 manchet ; the Comptroller, half ; the Kitchen, half ; the Porter, half ; the Stable, 2 ; the Gentlemen of the Chapel, 8 ; Gentlemen Strangers, and Bailiffs of the Lord from divers parts, 8 ; Robert Poyntz, knight, 4 ; Edmund Gourge, knight, and John Rodney, knight, 3 ; Maurice Barkley, 2 loaves, 2 manchets.

In Messes, 459 loaves : to the Tailor, 32 ; the Surveyor, 78 ; the Salter, 6 ; the Kitchen, for works, 9 ; the Chandler, 5 ; the Bear, 2 ; Alms, 4 ; Drinkings, 13 loaves and a half, 1 manchet ; whereof to the Lord, 1 manchet ; the Lady, 1 loaf, 1 manchet ; the Lord Stafford, 1 loaf, 1 manchet ; the Lady Anne, 1 loaf, 1 manchet ; the Lord Edward, 1 ; the Treasurer, 1 ; the Chancellor, half ; the Dean of the Chapel, half ; the Secretary, half ; the Almoner, nothing ; Robert Poyntz, knight, 1 loaf, 1 manchet ; Edmund Gourge and John Rodney, knights, 1 loaf, 1 manchet ; Maurice Barkley, 1 loaf, 1 manchet ; James Barkley and Richard Barkley,

* A manchet was a loaf of the finest white bread, weighing 6 oz.

1 loaf, 1 manchet; Sir Henry Sleaford, half; the Auditor, 1; the Comptroller, half; the Kitchen, half; the Chief Cook, 1 quarter; the Porter, half; the Yeoman of the Chamber, 1; the attendants of the Lady Anne, 1.

Cellar. Spent, 33 pottles,* 1 pitcher, 1 quart of Gascony wine, price 66*s.*; four pitchers and a half of Malvoisey, 4*s.* 6*d.*; 7 pitchers of Rhenish wine, 4*s.* 8*d.*; and one pitcher of Ossey, 12*d.*: whereof, in breakfasts to the knights, 1 pottle of Gascony wine, and a half a pitcher of Malvoisey.—Messes in the Chamber of the Lord and Lady, 1 pottle, 1 pitcher of Gascony wine, and 1 pitcher of Rhenish wine, and half a pitcher of Malvoisey; the Great Chamber, 1 pottle, 3 pitchers of Gascony wine, and 1 pitcher of Rhenish wine, and half a pitcher of Malvoisey; to the said Lord and Lady, and the aforesaid knights, 3 pitchers of Gascony wine, and 1 pitcher of Rhenish wine; the Kitchen, for works, 1 pottle; the Butler, 11 pottles of Gascony wine, 1 pitcher of Malvoisey, and 2 pitchers of Rhenish wine; Liveries, 2 pottles, 2 pitchers, 1 quart of Gascony wine, and 1 pitcher of Rhenish wine, and half a pitcher of Malvoisey; whereof, to the Lord and Lady, half a pitcher; the Lady Anne, half a pitcher; Robert Poyntz, knight, 2 pitchers of Gascony wine, and half a pitcher of Rhenish wine, and a quart of Malvoisey; Edmund Gourge and John Rodney, knights, 2 pitchers of Gascony wine, and half a pitcher of Rhenish wine, and a quart of Malvoisey; Maurice Barkley, and William Kingiston, 3 pitchers of Gascony wine; Anthony Poyntz, Thomas Welshe, James Barkley, and Richard Barkley, 3 pitchers; the Treasurer, 1 quart; Waste, 4 pottles of Gascony wine, 1 pitcher of Malvoisey, 1 pitcher of Rhenish wine, and 1 pitcher of Ossey.

Buttery. Spent, 259 flaggons,† 3 quarts (of ale); of which, to the Lord, half a flaggon; the Lady, half; the Lord Stafford, 1; the Lady Anne, half; the Lord Edward, 1 quart; the Treasurer, half; Robert Poyntz, knight, 1; Edmund Gourge, knight, &c., 1; Maurice Barkley and William Kingiston, 1; James Barkley and Richard Barkley, 1; and the attendants of the said knights, 2; the Auditor, half; the Comptroller, half; the Kitchen, 2; the Porter, half; the Baker, half; the Stable, 1; the Gentlemen of the Chapel 3; and Gentlemen Strangers, 3.

In Messes, 114 flaggons, 3 quarts; whereof, to the Lord, nothing; the Lady, half; the Lord Stafford, 1; the Lady Anne, half; the Lord Edward,

* A pottle was a measure containing 2 quarts.

† A flaggon was a measure containing sometimes 4 quarts, sometimes only 3.

1 quart; the Treasurer, half; the Comptroller, half; the Auditor, half; the Cook, 2; the Porter, half; the Baker, half; the Butler, 40.—Liveries, 13 flaggons; whereof, to the Lord, half; the Lady, half; the Lord Stafford, 1; the Lady Anne, half; the Lord Edward, 1 quart; the Treasurer, half; the Chancellor, 1 quart; the Dean of the Chapel, 1 quart; the Secretary, 1 quart; Almoner, nothing; the Auditor, half; Robert Poyntz, knight, 1; Edmund Gourge, and John Rodney, knights, 1; Maurice Barkley and William Kingiston, 1; Richard Barkley and James Barkley, 1; Anthony Poyntz and Thomas Welshe, 1; Sir Henry Sleford, 1 quart; the Comptroller, half; the Kitchen, 3 quarts; the Chief Cook, 1 quart; the Porter, half; the Yeomen of the Chamber, 1; the attendants of the Lady Anne, half.

Kitchen. Spent of the Lord's store, 36 rounds of beef, 21s.; 12 carcases of mutton, 14s.; 2 calfs, 5s.; 4 pigs, 8s.; 1 dry ling, 6d.; 2 salt cods, 5d.; 2 hard fish, 2½d.; 1 salt sturgeon, 18d.

In fresh Achates. 3 swans, price 10s.; 6 geese, 2s. 6d.; 6 sucking pigs, 3s.; 10 capons, 6s. 6d.; 1 lamb, 16d.; 2 peacocks, 2s.; 2 herons, 8d.; 22 rabbits, price 4s. 7½d.; 18 chickens, 18d.; 16 woodcocks, 16d.; 9 melards, 22½d.; 23 widgeons, 2s. 10½d.; 18 teals, 18d.; 20 snipes, 8d.; 9 dozen of great birds, 3s.; 6 dozen of little birds, 6d.; 3 dozen of larks, 9d.; 9 quails from the store, 4½d.; half a fresh salmon, 18d.; 1 fresh cod, 8d.; 4 dog fish, 3s. 8d.; 2 tench, 14d.; 7 little bremes, 14d.; half a fresh congre, 8d.; 21 little roaches, 8d.; 6 large fresh eels, 3s. 4d.; 10 little whitings, 3d.; 17 flounders, 6d.; 100 lampreys, 10d.; 3 sticks of little eel sowers, 15d.; 3 plaice, 9d.; 1 fresh 3s. 4d.; 400 eggs, 3s. 4d.; 24 dishes of butter, 2s.; 2 flaggons of 8d.; 15 flaggons of milk, 15d.; 3 flaggons of cream, 3d.; 2 gallons of frumety, 8d.; 200 oysters, 4d.; herbs, 6d.

Chandlery. Spent, of parish candle, 46 lb., price 3s. 10d.; sises, 3 lb., 9 sises, price 19½d.; quarriers 20, 2s. 6d., and 8 prickets, 5d.* whereof, to the Lord, 6 sises and 4 quarriers; to the Lady, 4 sizes and 1 quarrier; the Lord Stafford, 2 sises; the Lady Anne, 3 sises and 1 pricket; the Great Chamber at supper, 8 sises and 3 quarriers; the Hall at supper, the Treasurer, and Dean of the Chapel, 4 prickets; and Waste, 11 quarriers; Robert Poyntz, knight, 4 sises,

* Pricketts were spikes to hold candles.

1 quarrier, 1 pricket ; Edmund Gourge, knight, and John Rodney, knight, 4 sises, 1 pricket ; Maurice Barkley, and William Kingiston, 4 sises and 1 pricket ; the Pantry, 1 sise ; the Cellar, 4 sises ; the Buttery, 1 sise ; the Kitchen, 2 sises ; and the Chapel, 86 sises.

Hall and Chamber. Spent, 10 loads of fuel, 10*s.* ; and 12 quarters of charcoal, 4*s.*

Stable. Spent, hay and litter for 49 horses of the Lord before specified, at a halfpenny each horse, 2*s.* 3*3/4d.* Also allowed as well in hay and litter as horsemeat, for 62 horses of the Lord's attendants, waiting this day within the hostelry, 6*s.* 5*3/4d.*

After the description of this sumptuous provision for a feast, it may not be uninteresting to know in what manner it would be served. I shall therefore transcribe the following directions "How to serve a Lord," from a contemporary MS., which gives a curious illustration of the domestic arrangements in use amongst the great families in England, at this time :—

"First, in service of all thyngys in pantry and bottory, and also for the ewery. First, table clothis, towelles longe and shorte, covertours and napkyns be ordeyned clenly clene, and redy according to the tyme. Also, basyns, ewers, trenchours of tree or bread, sponys, saltes, and kervyng knyves.

"Thenne, agenst tyme of meat, the boteler, or the ewerer, shall brynge forthe clenely dressed and fayre applyed tabill-clothis, and the cubbord clothe cowched upon his lefte shoulder, laying upon the tabill ende, close applied unto the tyme that he have firste covered the cubbord, and then cover the syde tabillis ; and laste, the principall tabill with dobell clothe, drawn, cowched, and spradde unto the degree as longeth thereto in festis.

"Thenne, here upon the boteler, or panter, shall bring forthe his principall salte, and *iiij* or *v* loaves of paryd brede, having a towayle about his nekke, the tone halfe honge or lying uppon hys lefte arm unto his hande juste unto the salt selar beryng.

"Thenne the boteler, or panter, shall sette the sellar in the myddis of the tabull, accordyn to the place where the principall soverain shall sette, and sette his brede just cowched unto the salt seler, and yf there be trenchours of brede, sette them juste before the seler, and lay down fayre the kervyng knives, the poyncts to the seler, beneath the trenchours.

"Thenne the second seler at the lower ende, with ij parid loaves thereby, and trenchours of brede yf they be ordeyned, and in case be, that trenchours of tree shall be ordeyned, the panter shall bryng them with napkyns and sponys,* whenne the soverayne is sette at tabill.

"Thenne after the high principall tabill sette with brede and salte, then salt sellars shall be sette upon the syde tablys, but no bréde, unto the tyme such people be sette that falleth to come to meat. Thenne the boteler shall bryng forth basyns, ewers, and cuppis, pecys, sponys sette into a pece, redressing all his silver plate upon the cubbord, the largest firste, the richest in the myddis, the lighteste before.

"Thenne the principall servitours moste take in ij handys basyns and ewers, and towell, and therewith to awayte and attende unto the tyme that the grace be fully saide, and thenne incontynent after grace saide to serve water with the principall basyn and ewer unto the principall soverayne, and ij principall servitours to holde the towell under the basyn, in lengthe, before the soverayne, and after that the sovrayne hathe wassche, to geve thenne water unto suche as ben ordeyned to sitte at the sovrayne's messe.

"Thenne after the wesching servid, the sovrayne will take hys place to sitte, and to hym such persons as it pleaseth hym to have, upon which tyme of sittyng the servitours moste diligently awayte to serve them of quyssyons, and after that done, to make such personys to be sette at the lower messe as the principall soverayne aggrees that be convenient.

"(Be it remembered, that evermore, at the begynnnyng of grace, the covertour of brede shall be avoyded and take away.) Thenne the karver, havyng his napkyn at all tymes uppon his lefte hande, and the kervynge knife in his right hande, and he shall take uppon the poynte of his knyf iij trenchours, and so cowche them justely before the principall, iij lying justely togeder (ij under and i upon), and the fourth before, justely for to lay uppon salte ; and the next lay iij trenchours, and so iij or ij after ther degree ; thereto the boteler must be redy with sponys and napkyns, that thereas the trenchours be cowched, lay the spones and the napkyns thereto, and so thorowe the borde.

"Thenne the karver shall take into his hande i or ij loves and bere hym to the syde tabill ende, and there pare him, quarter one first, and bring

* Forks were not introduced into England till the reign of James the First.



hym hole togeder, and cowche ij of the best before the sovrayne, and to others by ij or one after ther degree.

“ Thenne the karver or sewer most asserve every disshe in his degree after order, and course of service, as folowith :—

First, mustard and brawne, swete wine served thereto.

Potage.

Befe and moton, swan or geese.

Grete pies, capon or fesaunt, leche or fretours.

“ Thenne yf potage be chaungebill after tyme and season of the yere, as falleth, as here is rehersid ; by exampel, for befe and moton ye shall take,

Pestelles, or chynys of porke, or els

Tonge of befe, or

Tonge of the harte powdered,

Befe stewed,

Chekyns boylyd and bacon.

“ Then against the secunde cours be redy, and come into the place, the keruer must avoyde and take upp the service of the first cours, begynnyng at the loweste mete first, and all broke cromys, bonys, and trenchours, before the secunde cours and service be served.

“ Thenne the secunde cours shall be served in manner and forme as ensample thereof, hereafter folowyng :

Potage-pigge.	Lamme stewed.
Conye.	Kidde roosted.
Crane.	Veneson rosted.
Heronseue.	Heronseue.
Bitoure.	Bitoure.
Egrete.	Pigeons.
Curlewe.	Rabetts.
Wodecock.	A bake meat.
Pertrigge.	Stokke dovys stewed.
Plover.	Cony.
Snytys.	Mallard.
Qualys.	Telys.
Fretours.	Wodecock.
Leche.	Great byrdys.

" After the secunde cours served, kerved, and spente, it must be sene cuppys to be filled, trenchours to be voyded, thenne by goode avysement the tabill must be take uppe in manner as folowith : first, when tyme foloweth, the panter or boteler muste gader uppe the sponys ; after that done by leyser, the sewer or carver shall begyne at the lowest ende, and in order take upp the lowest messe, after the syde tabill be avoyded and take upp ; and thenne to procede to the principall tabill, and there honestly and clenly avoyde and withdrawe all the service of the high tabill ; therto the kerver must be redy, and redely have avoyded togeder in all the broke brede, trenchours, cromys lying upon the tabill, levynge none other thyng, save the salte selar, hole brede (if any be lefte), and cuppys.

" After this done by good deliberacion and avysement, the kerver shall take the service of the principall messe in order and rule, begynnynge at the lowest, and so procede in rule unto the laste. And thereupon the kerver to have redy a voyder, and to avoyde all men's trenchours, broke brede in another clene disshe voyder, and cromys, which with the kervyngh knyf shall be avoyded from the tabill, and thus procede untill the table be voyded. Thenne the kerver shall go into the cuppibord, and redresse and ordeyne wafers into towelyes of raynes,* or fine napkyns, which moste be cowched fayre and honestly uppon the tabill, and thenne serve the principall messe first, and thorowe the tabill, i. or ij. yf it so require. Therto moste be servid swete wine ; and in feriali tyme, serve cheese, scraped with sugar and sauge levis, or else that it be fayre kerved hole ; or frute as the season of the year geveth, strawberys, cherys, peyres, appelis ; and in wyn-ter, wardens, costardys roste, rosted on fisshe days with blanche powder, and so serve it forth.

" Thenne after wafers and frute spended, all manner of thynges shall be take uppe, and avoyded, except the principall salte seler, hole brede, and kervyngh knyves, the which thall be redressed in manner and fourme as they were first sette on the table ; the which principall servitours of the panter or botery, havynge his towaile, shall take uppe and bear it into his office, in lykewise as he first brought it unto the tabill. Thenne the principall ser-

* Raynes was a table-cloth, supposed by Mr. Douce to have been manufactured at Rennes.

vitours, as kerver and sewer, most have redy a longe towayle applied double to be cowched uppon the principall ende of the tabill ; and that towelle must be justely drawn thorowe the tabill unto the lower ende ; and ij servitours to awayte thereupon, that it be justely cowched and spred ; after that done, there must be ordeyned basyns and ewers, with water hot or colde as tyme of the yere requireth, and to be sette upon the tabill, and to stonde unto the grace be said ; and incontynent after grace saide, the servitours to be redy to awayte and attende to give water ; first, to the principall messe, and after that to the seconde ; incontynent after this done, the towayle and tabillclothis muste be drawen, cowched and sprad, and so by littill space taken uppe in the myddis of the tabill, and so to be delyvered to the office of the pantry or botery.

“ Thenne uprysing, servitours must attende to avoyde tabills, trestellis, formys, and stoolys, and to redresse bankers and quyssyons ; then the bote-ler shall avoyde the cupborde, begynnyng at the loweste, procede in rule to the hyeste, and bere it into his office. Thenne after mete, it moste be awayted and well intended by servitours, if drinke be asked ; and yf ther be knyght or lady, or grete gentilwoman, they shall be servid upon knee with brede and wyne.

“ Thenne it most be sene if strangers shall be brought to chamber, and that the chamber be clenly apparelled and dressed accordyng to the tyme of yere ; as in winter tyme fyre ; in sommer tyme the bedde covered with pylowes and hed shetys, in case they wolle rest ; and after this done, they moste have cheer of *neweltees* in the chamber, as juncates, cherys, pepyns, and such neweltees as the tyme of the yere requereth ; or else greue ginger comfetts, with such thynge as wynter requereth, and swete wynes, Yporcrasse, Tyre, Mustadell, bastard beruage, of the beste that may be had to the honour and laude of the principall of the house.”

The beds were fitted up in the most luxurious manner at this time. In the will of John Amet the elder, citizen and cutler of London, dated 1473, and published in Arnold’s Chronicle ; he bequeaths to his sister Margaret the bed in his chamber, “ hoole as it is, that is to saye, feder bedde, matras, bolster, pyllowes, blankettis, sheteis, coverlet, quylte, tester, and three curtyns, iij payer of my beste sheteis, and ij coverlettis, besyde that that lyeth on my bedde.”

The making of the bed must have been a very laborious office, from the directions given “ffor the makyng of King Henry the Seventh’s bed,”* which I shall here subjoin.

“ Item, in makyng of the king’s bedde: Furste, a yeoman or a groome of the wardrobe must bring in the stuffs, and the curteyns must be drawen, and a gentilman uschere muste holde the curteyns togeder, the syde curteyns, and the fote curteyns; then muste ij squyres of the body stond at the bedde’s hed, on eyther syde one; and ij yomen of the crowne at the bedde’s feete, unto the thressed on, and all the stuff be laid safe at the bedde’s fete on a carpet before the yomen of the stuff; thenne a yoman of the crowne or of the chambre to lep upon the bedd, and rolle hym up and doun, and assay the litter; then yomen to lay doune the canvass ageyne; then ley on the fether bed; and beat it welle, and make it evyne and smoothe; then shall a yoman of the stiffe take the ffustian, and take the assay, and caste it upon the bedde; then shall squyeres for the body ley hond thereon, and yomen, and ley it straight upon the bedd without any wrinkleis; and the shete in the same wise; then take both the shetes and the fustian by the bordure, and put them in under the fetherbed at both sides, and at the feet also; then lay on the oyther shete, and the squyres for the body to take the schete, and gader it round in your handes on ethere side the bedd, and go to the bedde’s hed, and strike down the bedd till they com doun twice or thrice, and shake the schete at the bedde’s fete, and lay it faire on bred on the bedd; then lay on the t’oyther stuff a fustian above, then take a paire or ij of martrons and ley above; but first take a paire of ermyns and ley abovene, and then ley on the martrons; then rolle downe the bedde the space of an elne; then lett the yomen take the pillowes and bette them well with your hondes, and caste them uppe to the squyeres for the body, and let them ley them on the bedde as it plesithe the king’s grace; then take an hedde schete of reynes, and lay it on, and put the one syde of the shete under the pillowes, and let the othere side be fulle; then take an hed schete of ermyne, and lay it abovene; then take the oyther side of the hed schete of reynes, and lay it on lofte on that; then the squyeres for the body to lay the bedd agayne on lofte of the pillowes. Then take a shete

* Antiquarian Repertory.

of reynes and covyre the bed over and ovyre, every side ; then the uscher to knyt the curtyns togeder, and a squyere for the body to cast holy water upon the bedde. Then shall squyeres for the body, and uschers, and all others that were at the making of the bedd, go without the traverse ; and ther to be mete for them, bred, ale, and wyne ; and ther they to drinke all togeder goodly."

Whether the nobility who lived in the more remote and northern parts of the kingdom were lodged equally well, appears uncertain. Mr. Hume imagines, from the very scanty allowance of linen yearly, in the Northumberland House Book (70 ells only, which were directed to be cut up into tablecloths), that sheets were not used in that household. At all events, luxury was entirely confined to the higher classes. Harrison, who wrote in the reign of Queen Elizabeth,* says "there are olde men yet dwelling in the village where I remayne, who have noted some things to be marvellously altered in Englande within their sound remembrance. One is the great amendment of lodging : for, sayde they, our fathers and we ourselves have lyen full ofte upon straw pallettes covered only with a sheete under coverlettes made of *dogswain* or *hopharlots*, (I use their owne terms,) and a good round logge under their heades insteade of a bolster. If it were so so that our fathers or the good man of the house had a materes or flockbed, and thereto a sacke of chafe to reste hys heade upon, he thought himselfe to be as well lodged as the lord of the towne, so well were they contented. Pillowes were thought meete onely for women in childbed. As for servants, if they had any sheete above them, it was well, for seldome had they any under their bodies, to keepe them from the pricking strawes, that ranne oft thorow the canvas and raced their hardened hides."

NOTE 61.

The principal object that King Henry the Seventh had in view during the whole course of his reign, being to diminish the power of the great feudal barons, this habit of keeping up large bodies of retainers in their several establishments was extremely obnoxious to him. Scarcely any Session of Parliament passed, wherein some act was not made tending to

* Harrison's Preface to Holinshed's Chronicle.

strike at this practice, the rigid enforcement of which was strictly insisted upon by the King, who never spared his faithful and attached servants, when they erred in this particular. Every one knows the story related by Lord Bacon, of the Earl of Oxford's being fined *fifteen thousand marks* for the display be made of retainers, when the king came to visit him at Henningham.

NOTE 62.

Henry the Seventh, either from distrust of his own personal safety, or in imitation of France, (Charles the Seventh, king of France, being the first European monarch who set the example of supporting a standing army,) in the year after his accession, A.D. 1486, ordained* a band of fifty,† tall, personable men, who were called the yeomen of the king's guard." Before this time, a regular military establishment was unknown in England. It was, however, no longer the custom for the feudal barons to attend with their vassals and perform military services, but when the king made war with Scotland, troops were levied by a general muster of the inhabitants throughout the different counties; and for foreign service by indentures with his subjects. By one of these made between Henry the Seventh, ‡ and George Earl of Kent, for raising troops to carry on the French war in 1492, the latter engaged to provide "vj. men of arms, his owne person comprised in the same, every one of them having with him his custrell and his page ; with xvij. demi-launces, xvij. archers on horsbak, and lx. archers on fote, of good and hable persons for the warre, horsed, armed, garnished, and arrayed sufficiently in all peces, and in every thing as after the custume of warre ought to appertayne ;" for which he was to receive for every man-at-arms with his page and custrell, 18d. per day ; for every demy-lance, 9d. ; and for every archer, whether on horseback or foot, 6d. ; also 6d. a piece for every twenty miles they had to go to the place of embarkation, to pay their travelling expenses. Similar indentures were entered into at the same time, and on the same terms, with twenty-five other noblemen and knights, and all for "an hole yere," to which space of time they were generally limited.

* Baker's Chronicle, and Henry's History of England, vol. xii.

† The number was afterwards increased.

‡ Rymer's Fœdera.

The duties of the yeomen of the guard were (according to the directions for the different officers about the court, drawn up by Henry Fitz Alan, Earl of Arundel, lord chamberlain to the king, by order of Henry the Eighth, A. D. 1526) as follows :*

The yeomen in waiting for the day were to relieve the night watch at 7 o'clock in the morning, and to take their station at the king's great chamber door. They were to allow no strangers, vagabonds, or "other simple folke," to enter; but when such came to acquaint the huissiers, who would repeat it to the lord chamberlain, who would take the king's pleasure.

They were to be ready, when required, to call the proper officers to serve the king's dinner or supper ; and to assist in covering the board, and bringing in the meat.

Also to bear torches, when required, before the king.

To bring water, whenever it might be commanded, by any lord or gentleman of the king's chamber, for their hands.

To ride on the king's messages, and to do at all times any manner of service for the king, whensoever any gentleman huissier shall command them.

And, lastly, to keep watch over the king's chamber all the night (till relieved by the morrow's guard), and to search every quarter of the night for "an adventure of fire," or "any manner of treason, brutes, or noises," which might annoy the king, and to give notice thereof.

In the account given of the marriage of Arthur Prince of Wales, in a curious MS. in the College of Arms,† the yeomen of the guard are described as "chosen persones of the hole contreth ; proved archers, strong, valiant, and bold men ; with bright hawberts in their hands, in clothing of large jacketts of damaske, whight and grene, goodly embrowdred bothe on ther brestys before and also on their bakkys behynde, with rownde garlands of vyne branches, besett before richely with spancles of silver and gilte, and in the myddell a redd rose, beten with goldsmethes work ; they were to the nombre of three hundredth ; evermore stondyng by the weis and passages upon a rowe in bothe the sides where the king's highnes shuld from chambre to chambre, or from oon place to another, at his goodly pleasure be removed."

* Antiquarian Repertory, vol. ii.

† Ibid.

NOTE 63.

Sir William Dugdale and Stowe both mention the park at Woodstock in Oxfordshire (said to be made by Henry the First) as the earliest in England, which is erroneous. Parks probably originated in consequence of a law passed in the reign of King Canute, allowing freeholders to sport upon their own lands; at all events, we find them existing in the time of William the Conqueror; the Bishop of Bayeux, the Earl of Ow, Earl Roger, the Bishop of Winchester, Ernulf de Hesding, Hugh de Grentemaisnil, Peter de Valongies, Hugh de Belcamp, Sewin of Essex, the Earl of Mortemain, Robert Malet, Robert Bluad, and the Abbot of St. Alban's, being all enumerated in Domesday Book as holding parks, *parcus bestium silvaticarum.**

NOTE 64.

Besides the immense riches of the lords spiritual, their influence in parliament greatly exceeded that of the lords temporal, for in addition to the nineteen bishops and two archbishops, most of the mitred abbots (who were twenty-nine in number) and several priors were summoned to every parliament, which makes their number amount to nearly double that of the lay peers at the time of which we treat. The number of abbots and priors summoned to parliament varied, but there were never fewer than twenty-five abbots and two priors.†

NOTE 65.

In the province of Canterbury were the sees of Bath and Wells, Ely, Chichester, Exeter, Hereford, Lincoln, Lichfield and Coventry, London, Norwich, Rochester, Salisbury, Winchester, Worcester, and the four Welsh sees, St. David's, St. Asaph, Bangor, and Llandaff.

In the province of York, were Durham and Carlisle.

Bristol, Gloucester, Oxford, and Peterborough were erected into bishoprics by Henry the Eighth, A.D. 1540, on the dissolution to the monasteries,

* Ellis's Introduction to Domesday Book.

† Burnet's History of the Reformation. Hallam's Constitutional History. Henry's History of England.

and added to the province of Canterbury. Westminster was also made a bishoprick at the same time ; but John Thirlby, the bishop, having wasted the funds appointed for the support of the see, was translated to Norwich, and the bishoprick dissolved in 1550. Chester was also erected by Henry the Eighth, and added to the province of York, into which Sodor and Man was also transferred in 1540.

NOTE 66.

The number of monasteries in England, at the time of their dissolution, A.D. 1535, amounted to 645. The revenues which the crown acquired thereby were computed at 1,600,000*l.* per annum ; and it was thought that if all the abbey lands had been sold they would have brought in above 30,000,000*l.* The following list gives the annual income of some of the principal monastic houses, at the time of their suppression, according to the valuation of Speed. It must be remembered that money was worth about twenty times as much then as it is now ; and as it was the practice of abbots and priors to let their lands low, and to take fines on granting leases, the real annual value of the lands greatly exceeded the rents set upon them.*

	£	s.	d.
The Abbey of Westminster	3977	13	4
The Abbey of Glastonbury	3508	6	1
The Priory of St. John's of Jerusalem	3385	19	8
The Abbey of St. Mary's, York	2850	1	5
The Priory of St. Thomas, Canterbury	2489	4	9
The Abbey of St. Edmundsbury	2336	3	9
The Abbey of St. Alban's	2310	6	1
The Abbey of Reading	2116	3	9
The Abbey of Abingdon	2048	2	8
The Abbey of Croyland	1803	15	10
The Abbey of Tewkesbury	1598	1	3
The Abbey of St. Austin, Canterbury	1413	4	11

* Dugdale's Monasticon. Rapin's History of England. Leland's Collection.

NOTE 67.

The abbey of Glastonbury is reputed to have been the first monastery founded in England, by St. Patrick, the apostle of the Irish, A.D. 425. It was, with the exception of Westminster, the richest in the country ; and its church, which is also said to have been the first Christian church in Great Britain, and to have been founded by Joseph of Arimathea, thirty-one years after the death of our Saviour, was, with the exception of old St. Paul's, the largest in the island, and very superior to Wells cathedral in magnificence. Richard Beere, who was the abbot at this time, and was employed by King Henry the Seventh as ambassador to the court of Rome, considerably enlarged and embellished both the abbey and the church, the latter of which he adorned with a rich altar of silver gilt. This church and abbey were entirely demolished by the Duke of Somerset, to whom they were given after the dissolution.

The abbey of Shaftesbury was founded by King Alfred, whose daughter Ethelgiva was the first abbess. It was the richest and best endowed nunnery in England, which occasioned the proverb quoted by our author, which is thus given by Fuller in his Church History (Book vi. p. 296), “That if the abbot of Glastonbury might marry the abbess of Shaftesbury, their heir would have more land than the King of England.” The abbess was one of the four who held of the king a whole barony, in consequence of which she was liable to be summoned to parliament, but was excused on account of her sex. She had writs also directed to her, to send her quota of men into the field, according to her knights’ fees. This abbey was dedicated to King Edward the Martyr, whose remains were removed here from Wareham. The name of the abbess at this time was Alice Gibbs. This convent was valued at the suppression at 1329*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.* (according to Speed). There scarcely remains the least vestige of its ruins at present, but the site is well known.*

NOTE 68.

King John granted by charter to all the monasteries and cathedrals in

* Willis’s History of Mitred Abbeys, Conventual Cathedral Churches, &c. Brewer’s Beauties of England and Wales. Stevens’s Monasticon.

the kingdom the free gift of electing their prelates, whether abbots or bishops, reserving only to the crown the custody of the temporalities during the vacancy ; the form of granting a license to elect, (the origin of our congé d'élire,) on refusal whereof the electors might proceed without it ; and the right of approbation afterwards, which was not to be denied without a reasonable and lawful cause. This grant was recognized and confirmed in Magna Charta, and again established by statute 25th Edward the Third, and continued in force till the Reformation. All the minor benefices were in the gift of whatever abbot or bishop was their patron. Some of the monasteries, however, continued to send to Rome for their bulls, after this arrangement ; amongst others the priory of Woodchurch, or St. Giles's in the Woods, in Hertfordshire, which was founded for a prioress and thirteen nuns, independent of any other religious house, by Roger de Tong and Margaret his wife. At this priory, now named Beechwood, and the residence of Sir Thomas Sebright, Baronet, there are several bulls in a state of perfect preservation, the earliest bearing the seal of Pope Alexander the Third, A. D. 1165. One of these, of Pope Urban the Sixth, A. D. 1375, is so curious a document, that, with the kind permission of the owner, I insert it here :

“ Urbanus episcopus servus servorum Dei, venerabili fratri episcopo Lincolniensi salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Exhibita nobis pro parte dilectorum in Christo filiarum Priorisse et conventus Sancti Egidi in Flamsted, ordinis Sancti Benedicti, tue diocesis, petitio continebat ; quod dictus prioratus a sui principio adeo exiliter dotatus, et in loco sterili et petroso fundatus extitit, quod redditus ejusdem valorem quindecim mar- charum sterlingorum, secundum communem estimationem, annuatim non excedunt ; et quod quelibet monialis ejusdem prioratus non precipit annuatim pro vestibus sui corporis et utensilibus nisi duos solidos, et pro coquina singulis septimanis unum obolum duntaxat ; et quod servitores dicti prioratus pro majori parte mortui, et domus et habitatores ac bestie ipsius prioratus sunt in tantum consumpti quod terre et possessiones ejusdem prioratus manent quasi steriles vacue et inculte, unde nisi de aliquo remedio eisdem priorisse et conventui succurratur oportebit eas ostiatim pro vite necessariis mendicare. Quare, pro parte ipsarum priorisse et conventus, nobis fuit humiliter supplicatum, ut parochialem ecclesiam de Dalyngton dicte diocesis, cuius ipsi patrones existunt, cujusque fructus, redditus et proventus

triginta marcharum dicte monete, secundum dictam estimationem, valorem annum ut ipse asserunt non excedunt, prefato prioratui unire et incorporare de speciali gratia dignaremur ; Nos igitur, de premissis certam notitiam non habentes, fraternitati tue, de qua in hiis et aliis gerimus in Domino fiduciam specialē, per apostolicum scriptum communimus et mandamus quatenus de premissis omnibus et singulis, et eorum circumstantiis universis, et presertim de valore annuo fructuum et proventuum prioratus et ecclesie predictorum, et utrum fundatores dicti prioratus possint compelli auctoritate apostolicā, te diligenter informes, et ea que per informationem hujusmodi reppereris nobis per tuas patentes literas manu publica scriptas tuoque sigillo munitas harum serie continentis quantotius referre procures ; ut nos per hujusmodi relationem tuam super premissis sufficienter instructi, in eis consultius procedere valeamus.

“ Dat. Rome apud Sanctum Petrum decimotertio kalendas Aprilis pontificatus nostri anno secundo. Pro P. de Alatro P. Francisci.”

Translation.

“ Urban, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, sends health and his blessing to his venerable brother, the Bishop of Lincoln. A petition has been presented to us by our beloved daughters in Christ, the prioress and nuns of St. Giles's in Flamstead, of the order of St. Benedict, in your diocese ; representing that the said priory, from the time of its foundation, has been so slenderly endowed, and situated in such a barren and stony country, that its yearly rents, according to common computation, do not exceed the value of fifteen marks sterling ; that each nun receives no more than *two shillings yearly for her clothes* and other necessaries, and *one farthing per week* only for her maintenance. That the greater part of the servants of the said priory are dead ; that the house, its inhabitants, and live stock thereunto belonging, are so dilapidated and reduced, that the lands and estates of the said priory are become as it were barren and uncultivated. Whereupon, unless some assistance be given to the said prioress and convent, they will be reduced to the necessity of begging from door to door for the necessaries of life. It was, therefore, humbly supplicated, on the part of the said prioress and convent, that the living of Dalyngton of the said diocese, of which they are the patrons, and of which the rents and emoluments do not exceed thirty marks of the said

money, annual value, according to the said estimation, as they assert, may out of our special favour be united and incorporated to the aforesaid priory. We, therefore, having no certain knowledge of the premises, do entrust and recommend to your brotherly care, of which in this as well as in other matters we bear special confidence, by these our apostolic presents, all and every of these circumstances and premises, and particularly to inquire into the annual value of the rents and profits of the priory and living aforesaid ; and to inform yourself diligently whether the founders of the said priory can be compelled, by our apostolical authority, to provide for the necessities of the said priory ; and, as soon as you shall have procured all the necessary information on this subject, to transmit the same to us by letters patent, signed with your public signature and with your seal thereunto affixed. That we by the means of your relation, being sufficiently informed on the premises, may be enabled to proceed with due prudence on these matters.

" Given at Rome at St. Peter's, 13th April, in the second year of our Pontificate."

NOTE 69.

Younger brothers were forbidden to follow any trade, but were either churchmen or retainers to great men, as is still the custom in the noble Italian families.

NOTE 70.

The Thames was affected by the tide till just above Kingston ; but since the building of Westminster Bridge, it is said to flow no higher than Richmond.

NOTE 71.

King Henry the Seventh's Chapel at Westminster was not commenced till the year 1501, or it would not in all probability have escaped the notice of our writer ; but, notwithstanding the high degree of perfection attained by the English, at a very early period, in the art of church building, (in which indeed they were beginning to decline, their style of Gothic architecture being too florid and loaded with ornaments at this time to be in good taste,) it was very late before they took any pains in the cultivation

of domestic architecture. The Spaniards who came over with Philip the Second, reported of them,* that, “though they fared commonly so well as the king, they had their houses made of sticks and dirt.”

Building with brick did not come into general use till the reign of Henry the Sixth. Before that period, dwelling houses were for the most part made of timber ; and though some were built of stone in the west country, where it was easily procured, that material was in general only employed for fortified castles, churches, religious houses, and palaces. A great part of London consisted of timber houses so late as the time of the great fire in 1666. The houses were, at the period of which we treat, built without chimneys (excepting in those of the nobility and monasteries),† and “each made his fire against a rere-dosse, in the hall where he dined and dressed his meat.” In the fine old hall at Penshurst, in the College hall at Westminster, and some of the halls at Oxford, may yet be seen specimens of a rere-dosse instead of a chimney. Glass windows were also very scarce ; lattice work, oiled linen, or horn were generally used. In the Northumberland House Book, orders are given to take out the casements, and lay them carefully by when the family went from home, which proves how precious a commodity glass was considered at this time.

NOTE 72.

In former times persons exercising the same trade inhabited the same street or quarter of London, till the increasing size of the town made it more convenient for them to disperse. The Goldsmiths all resided at this time in Cheapside, which was also called “the Goldsmiths’ Row.” The English appear to have been very skilful in the art of refining and working metals at a very early period. Robert abbot of St. Alban’s sent a present of two candlesticks to pope Adrian the Fourth, of such admirable workmanship that the pontiff and his courtiers declared that they had never seen any thing of the kind so exquisitely beautiful. Baldwin, a goldsmith who lived in the reign of Henry the Second, was a very famous craftsman, and made many admirable pieces of plate for the use of churches, particularly a cup presented by Simon abbot of St. Alban’s to his own church. It was very large, and made of the purest gold, adorned with flowers and foliage

* Hallam’s History of the Middle Ages.

† Harrison’s Preface to Holinshed’s Chronicle.

of the most delicate workmanship, and set round with precious stones of inestimable value. Alan de Walsingham, a monk of Ely in the thirteenth century, and several others, are celebrated for their superior skill in the goldsmith's art. On the triumphant entry of Richard the Second and his Queen, Anne of Bohemia, into London, A.D. 1392, the citizens presented each of them with a wrought crown of gold of great price; and a table of gold, on which was a representation of the Trinity, to the King; and another, with the figure of St. Anne carved upon it, to the Queen; each of them being valued at £800 sterling. The English were also very successful in statues of cast metal. The splendid monument of Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, in St. Mary's Church at Warwick, erected in 1439, was entirely the work of native artists. This monument, with the chapel in which it was placed, cost £2,481 4s. 7d. at that time.*

NOTE 73.

The government of the city by mayors and sheriffs is commonly reported to have commenced with Henry Fitz-Alwyn, in the second year of King Richard the First, A.D. 1190; though some affirm that it was of an earlier date. Before this time, the chief magistrates of the city were called *Portgraves*; and the secondary officers were bailiffs. There are twenty-six aldermen, and the same number of wards.†

NOTE 74.

The lord mayors' feasts were not held in Guildhall till the year 1500, when the kitchen and offices were built by Sir John Shaw, who was lord mayor for that year. Before this time they were held in the Grocers' or Taylors' hall. King Henry the Seventh himself was a brother of the Taylors' Company; and gave them the name of *Merchant Taylors* for a title of distinction.

NOTE 75.

"I might here talk somewhat of the great silence that is used at the tables of the honorable and wyser sort, generally all over the realme."‡

* Strype's Stowe's Survey. Matthew Paris, vit. Abbat. Henry's History of England. Stowe's Annales. † Strype's Stowe's Survey of London.

‡ Harrison's Preface to Holinshed's Chronicle.

NOTE 76.

The spiritual jurisdiction of the islands of Jersey, Guernsey, &c. was transferred from the bishop of Coutances to the bishop of Winchester, by a bull of pope Alexander the Sixth, A.D. 1500.* I cannot discover on what authority the writer calls the islands, in both the Irish and English channels, the *Menanian isles*. In the former case, it might be explained by Mona and Monabia being the ancient names for Anglesey and Man; but there is no apparent reason why the islands in the English channel should be so denominated.

NOTE 77.

Mestre is a small town in the vicinity of Venice. The country called *Morini* by the Romans, included the ancient dioceses of Boulogne, St. Omer, and Ypres.

NOTE 78.

It is said that firearms were first employed by the English at the battle of Cressy. They did not, however, come into general use until many years after. There is a very clumsy piece of cannon, of the reign of Henry the Sixth, still preserved in the Tower, and another, of a better construction, of the reign of Henry the Seventh. But the first piece of ordnance that was cast in England was in the year 1521. The *arquebuse* was a new improvement in firearms, introduced by Henry the Seventh. This consisted in placing a sort of lock to the iron tube, with a cock to hold the match, suggested by the cross-bow, and from that circumstance called the *arc a bouche*, or *arc-a-bousa*. When the yeomen of the guard were instituted, half of them were armed with bows and arrows, and the other half with arquebuses. The precise time when the bow ceased to be used by the British army is uncertain. The earl of Essex raised a company of archers for the Irish wars, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and it is said that there were some in the army of the great Montrose during the Rebellion. At the time of which we are now treating, it was still the principal weapon of the soldiery; and king Henry the Seventh (as we have related in Note

* Rymer's *Foedera*, vol. xii.

51) did every thing in his power to encourage the practice of archery. In the seventeenth year of his reign it was enacted, that “no person should shoot with a *cross-bow* without the king’s licence, except he were a lord, or possessed 200 marks per annum in land;” because it tended to throw the *long-bow*, in the exercise of which the English were so particularly successful, into disuse.*

NOTE 79.

That my readers may be enabled to form their own judgment respecting the table kept by Henry the Seventh, I subjoin the bill of fare of the feast at his nuptials with Elizabeth of York, at Whitehall, A.D. 1487:—

First Course.

A warner before the course.	Carpe in foile.
Sheldes of brawne in armour.	Kid reversed.
Frumetye, with venison.	Perche in jelyoye depte.
Bruet riche.	Conys of high grece.
Harte powdered graunt chars.	Moton roiall richely garnyshed.
Fesaunt intram de royall.	Valance baked.
Swan with chawdron.	Custarde royall.
Capons of high goe.	Tarte poleyn.
Lampervey in galantine.	Leyse damaske.
Crane with cretnay.	Frutt synoper.
Pyk in latymer sawce.	Frutt formage.
Heronseue with his sigue.	† A soteltie with writing of balads.

Second Course.

A warner‡ before the course.	Cokks.
Jely ypocras.	Pertricche.
Mamame with lozengs of golde.	Sturgynn freshe fenell.
Pekok in hakell.	Plovers.
Bitowse.	Rabett sowker.

* History of British Costume.

† A soteltie, or subtlety, was an ornamental part of the dessert.

‡ A warner was the first subtlety.

Fesaunte.	Seyle in fenyn, entirely served richely.
Browes.	Red schankkes.
Egrets in beorwetye.	Snytes.
Quayles.	Lethe ciprus.
Larkes ingrayled.	Lethe rube.
Creves de endence.	Fruter augeo.
Venesone in paste royll.	Fruter mounteyne.
Quince baked.	Castells of jely in templewise made.
Marche payne royll.	A soteltie.*
A colde bake mete flourishede.	

NOTE 80.

Though the writer frequently calls Henry the Seventh by the title of *His Majesty*, it was never adopted by him. Henry the Eighth, to put himself on equal terms with the Emperor Charles the Fifth, was the first English king who assumed it.

NOTE 81.

At the death of Henry the Seventh, 1,800,000*l.*, in gold and silver, was found in his coffers, which is equal to twenty millions of our money at present! No former king of England ever accumulated such a treasure as this, though the revenues of all the kings since the Conquest appear to have been very great. A contemporary author, Ordericus Vitalis, asserts that those of William the Conqueror amounted to 106*l.* 10*s.* 1*½d.* *per day*; and Roger Hoveden, who lived in the time of Richard the First, relates that when Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, resigned the office of chief justicier, A.D. 1196, he proved from his books that the revenue he had collected in England for the crown during the two preceding years was no less than 1,100,000 marks of silver. Now, if we consider that a pound of silver in the twelfth century contained three times as much silver as in the present day, and then calculate the enormous difference of value of the same quantity of silver, these sums will appear almost incredible.†

* Pennant's London.

† Steven's History of Taxes. Henry's History of England. Madox's History of the Exchequer.



NOTE 82.

When Danegeld ceased to be paid is not precisely known, and it is uncertain whether it ever was a settled yearly revenue, since the Conquest. It was regularly paid during the reigns of Henry the First and Stephen, and occasionally in that of Henry the Second; since which time there is no positive record of its having been levied, though several charters made by Richard the First, and John, granting "freedom from Danegeld, and other exactions," prove that the power of raising it still existed. Danegeld was a land tax, being paid by men of the counties only; an *auxilium* or *domum* being exacted from the cities and towns, whenever Danegeld was required from the counties. According to Camden, it was a tax of one shilling, which was afterwards raised to two shillings, upon every hide of land throughout the kingdom.*

NOTE 83.

The customs paid to the king were formerly called *consuetudines*, and signified regal dues, ecclesiastical dues, and dues and payments and exactions of many kinds. In process of time they came to be called *customs*, by which name we first find them mentioned in the acts of Edward the First. The Italian merchants paid double custom in England on the goods they exported and imported till the year 1488, when Henry the Seventh, who was a great patron of commerce, granted them a considerable abatement on some articles of export for three years. This apparently had the desired effect of increasing the traffic between the two countries, for we find that a very brisk trade was at this time carried on with Italy; the Italian merchants taking off great quantities of English cloth, lead, tin, &c., for which they returned velvets, silks, gold lace, spices, sweet wines, sugar, drugs, and other precious commodities of the East.†

NOTE 84.

This tax, which is called *poundage*, was first granted to King Edward

* Madox's History of the Exchequer. Camden's Britannia.

† Madox's History of the Exchequer. Henry's History of England. Anderson's History of Commerce.

the First, and increased from 3*d.* to 12*d.* in the pound by Henry the Seventh. When, by the increase of commerce, the coast-guard began to be considered of great importance, it was given by parliament to the king, A.D. 1406, to enable him to guard the seas, and protect the ships of the merchants from pirates.*

NOTE 85.

By an act, 14th Edward the Third, a duty was imposed of a mark upon every sack of wool carried out of the country.†

NOTE 86.

There was a company of merchants in England called Merchants of the Staple, who were bound by their charter to carry all the goods they exported to Calais; and to land them at any other port was made felony by act of parliament, A.D. 1439. This corporation was originally composed entirely of foreigners, but the English were admitted into it by degrees. Henry the Seventh, being offended with the Flemish for the assistance they had given to Perkin Warbeck, sent all their merchants out of England, and Calais was the only place where they were allowed any traffic with the English, during the remainder of his reign. This struck a fatal blow to the prosperity of Bruges, which had, before this time, been the great emporium of commerce.

The English woolstaple at Calais was situated at the end of what is now called “la rue de la prison.” It goes by the name of “la cour de Guise,” from its having been given by Henry the Second, king of France, to the duke of Guise, after the capture of the town in 1557. Whilst it remained in the duke’s family (from whom it was purchased by the town) it was exempted from all taxes. Very little of the original building, erected by Edward the Third in 1389, now remains, excepting the gateway, which has been much injured of late years by the removal of two large escutcheons over the arch, and the destruction of a handsome window above, between them. The wooden edifice constructed in the reign of Henry the Eighth for the interview of the field of the cloth of gold, was made after the design of the woolstaple, a picture of which, by Holbein, is at Hampton Court Palace.

* Jacob’s Law Dictionary. Henry’s History of England. † Jacob’s Law Dictionary.

NOTE 87.

This statement is perfectly correct. In the year 1421, the receipts from the customs of wool at the staple amounted altogether to $40,676l. 19s. 9\frac{1}{4}d.$, whilst the charge of keeping Calais and her Marches was $21,119l. 5s. 10d.$, and that of the Scotch Marches was $19,550l.$; making altogether the sum of $40,669l. 5s. 10d.*$

NOTE 88.

Although the extortions practised upon widows at this time were very great, they were still more grievously oppressed before it was stipulated by a clause in Magna Charta, that “no widow shall be compelled to marry herself while she chuses to live without a husband, but so that she shall give security that she will not marry herself without our consent, if she holds of us, or without the consent of her lord, if she holds of another.” It appears by the records of the exchequer, that “Lucia countess of Chester paid 500 marks to King Stephen, that she might not be compelled to marry within five years.” Alicia countess of Warwick paid King John $1000l.$ and *ten palfreys*, that she might not be forced to marry till she pleased. Hawise countess of Albemarle gave 15,000 marks that she might have her jointure, and not be forced to marry. And numerous other instances might be adduced of widows paying heavy fines to be allowed the privilege of remaining single. The sums that came into the king’s exchequer by the marriage of his feudal vassals were enormous; for those who wished to marry widows holding of the crown also paid the king for permission to do so. Thus, “Geoffry de Mandevile paid Henry the Second 20,000 marks, that he might have to wife Isabel countess of Gloucester, with all her lands, knight’s fees, &c.,” and others.

NOTE 89.

Great advantage was taken of this privilege of enjoying the revenues of a church benefice during a vacancy, by the kings, in the earlier periods of English history. William Rufus kept the see of Canterbury open for *four years*, that of Exeter for nine, and Durham for four. Henry the

* Rymer’s Fœdera.

† Madox’s History of the Exchequer.

First kept Canterbury vacant for five years, Bangor for eleven, London for five, &c. Henry the Second kept York vacant for ten years, Lincoln for nine, Hereford for seven, &c. After it was settled by Magna Charta, that on the refusal of the king's *congé d'élire* the chapter might proceed without it, the kings no longer ventured upon such an extension of their privilege; but some months of the incomes of all the wealthy monasteries and bishoprics formed no inconsiderable item in their revenue.*

NOTE 90.

A carlino is a small piece of money, of which ten are equivalent to a ducat. They were first coined by Charles the Eighth, king of France, when he was in Italy, whence their name.

NOTE 91.

The large sums which Henry the Seventh received from France were in consequence of the treaty of Estaples in 1492, whereby Charles the Eighth, king of France, agreed to pay up the arrears of the pension due from his predecessor Louis the Eleventh to Edward the Fourth, which amounted to 125,000 crowns, as well as the debts contracted by his queen, as duchess of Brittany, to Henry, which amounted to 620,000 crowns more, making altogether 745,000 crowns. This sum king Charles and his successor regularly paid by instalments of 50,000 livres per annum, till the whole debt was liquidated. The value of the crown is fixed in the treaty at 4*s. 2d.*; and it appears that the ducat was the same, 50,000 livres at 10*d.* the livre being equivalent to 10,000 ducats at that rate, which accounts for the indiscriminate manner in which the writer computes sometimes by one coin and sometimes by the other.†

NOTE 92.

The tenths and fifteenths were levied according to the valuation made in the reign of Edward the Third.‡

* Nicolas' Synopsis of the Peerage.

† Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xii.

‡ Blackstone's Commentaries.

NOTE 93.

The office of the lord high constable was formerly a place of the highest trust, as it commanded all the king's forts and garrisons, and took place of all officers in the field. It was at this time hereditary in the Stafford family, to whom it had descended from the Bohuns, and was forfeited with the rest of his titles by Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, on his attainder in 1521; since which time it has never been held by any subject for more than one day. It is only on great occasions, such as a coronation or a trial by combat, that any one is required to fill it; and his constable's staff is broken as soon as his commission is ended.

The office of the earl marshal formerly imposed upon its possessor the arbitration of army causes, which he decided according to civil law; he was also supposed to be the judge of the marshalsea court, and directed all points of precedence, solemn processions, &c. It is hereditary in the family of the duke of Norfolk, to whose ancestor, Thomas Mowbray, earl of Nottingham, it was granted by Richard the Second. The military duties formerly attached to it are now entirely at an end, as well as that of presiding over the marshalsea court, and it is merely an office under which certain acts at the great ceremonies of the king's court are performed.

The office of lord high admiral was one of such importance that it was usually given to one of the king's sons or kinsmen, or to one of the chief nobility. John de Vere, earl of Oxford, held it during the reign of Henry the Seventh. It was held by Prince George of Denmark, the husband of Queen Anne, and by his late Majesty William the Fourth, when duke of Clarence; but it has seldom been put into requisition of late years, the affairs of the admiralty being generally managed by commission.

The office of lord high steward, which is a very ancient one, was formerly hereditary in the family of the Montforts, earls of Leicester; but since the attainder of Simon de Montfort, the last earl, in the reign of Henry the Third, it has only been revived on the occasion of a coronation, or the trial of a peer; and the white rod, the emblem of the office, is broken as soon as the commission is over.

The office of lord great chamberlain was hereditary in the family of the de Veres, earls of Oxford, from whom it has descended to the present

possessor, Lord Willoughby de Eresby. The duties of this office consist in providing all things for the house of lords in the time of parliament, and the fitting up of Westminster hall for a coronation, or any public solemnity.

These offices are all honorary.

The office of the lord chancellor is the most important, and ranks the first of all the lay offices in the kingdom. It has existed from the most remote antiquity, and was formerly always conferred upon prelates and churchmen, who were also in general the king's confessors, whence his title of keeper of the king's conscience is derived. It having been found, however, that the ecclesiastical and temporal duties sometimes interfered with each other, it was first given to a layman by Edward the Third, whose example was occasionally followed by his successors till the Reformation; since which time it has never been held by a churchman. The duties of the lord chancellor are too well known to require any explanation here. This office, as well as those of the lord president of the council, the lord privy seal, the master of the rolls, &c., is only held pro tempore, at the king's pleasure. They all receive salaries as being the executive part of the government. It appears by an article in Rymer's *Fœdera*, that the pay of the great officers of state, namely, "treasurers, keeper of the privy seal, justices of each bench, barons of the exchequer, and others," in the year 1421, amounted to 3,002*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*

The salaries of the justices, in the time of Henry the Seventh, were—

The chief justice of the common pleas, 180 marks per annum.

The chief justice of the king's bench, 140 marks per annum; besides their fees; and for their winter robes, 5*l.* 6*s.* 11*1*/*4**d.*; and for summer robes, 3*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.*

The fee of the justices of both benches, 40 marks per annum; their other allowance, 110 marks.

The fee of a justice of assize, 20*l.* per annum.

The fee of the attorney general, 10*l.* per annum. What their other allowance was, does not appear.

The allowance of the king's serjeants and the attorney for robes, was 1*l.* 6*s.* 11*d.**

* Madox's History of the Exchequer. Brewster's Peerage. Guthrie's Geography. Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. 10. Fleetwood's Chron. Prec.

NOTE 94.

The Church of Rome was not so forgetful of her own interests as our author imagined. Besides the taxes, which the popes thought themselves at all times authorised to inflict upon the clergy (as, for instance, in the reign of Henry the Fourth, Eugenius the Fourth imposed a tax of one-tenth of their benefices upon all the clergy of England), the sums which they derived from their *annates*, or first fruits, were quite enormous. By these annates, every bishop and clergyman paid to the pope, at his first entrance into his benefice, the entire revenue of one year, without which he refused to grant bulls sanctioning their appointment. When they were abolished on the Reformation in 1532, it appeared that since the year 1489 the Church of Rome had been in the annual receipt of 60,000*l.* sterling from this tax alone. The rate at which every bishoprick was taxed for first fruits was entered into the pope's books, as follows :*—

Canterbury, 2,250*l.* It was also customary to pay besides, for the pall, 1,125*l.*; making altogether 3,375*l.*

York, 4,000*l.* Extra for the pall, 2,000*l.*; making altogether 6,000*l.*

	£		£	s.
London	675	Worcester	450	0
Winchester	4,800	Hereford	405	0
Ely	2,800	Chichester	133	4
Lincoln	2,000	Rochester	342	10
Lichfield and Coventry	680	St. David's	337	10
Salisbury	1,125	Llandaff	157	10
Bath and Wells	172	Bangor	28	7
Exeter	2,400	St. Asaph	28	7
Durham	2,025	Carlisle	225	0
Norwich	2,000			

NOTE 95.

Juas or Jew, king of the West Saxons, is said to have been the first who granted to the pope, in A.D. 700, a penny for every house that had fire burning

* Henry's History of England. Rymer's Fœdera.

in it, which was called *Rome scot*, or Peter's pence. This grant was confirmed by Ethelwolf in 840 (some authors are of opinion that it was originally granted by him), and continued to be paid till the Reformation. The form by which it was collected is subjoined, from a bull in the Cottonian Library.

“Bulla Gregorii P. R. de Denario Petri, in Angliâ. Gregorius Episcopus servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus fratribus Cant. et Ebor. archiepiscopis et eorum suffrag: et dilectis filiis abbatibus et prioribus, archidiac. et eorum officialibus per regnum Angliæ constitutis, ad quos istæ literæ pervenerint, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Qualiter denarius Sancti Petri qui debetur cameræ nostræ colligatur in Angliâ et in quibus episcopatibus et diocesibus debeatur ne super hoc dubitare contingat, presentibus fecimus annotari sicut in registro sedis Apostolicæ continetur. De Cant. dioc. 8*l.* 18*s.* ster.; de Lond. dioc. 16*l.* 10*s.*; de Roffen. dioc. 5*l.* 7*s.*; de Lincoln. dioc. 42*l.*; de Norwic. 21*l.* 10*s.*; de Elien. 5*l.*; de Cicest. dioc. 8*l.*; de Winton. dioc. 18*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; de Exon. dioc. 20*l.* 5*s.*; de Wigorn. dioc. 10*l.* 5*s.*; de Herford. dioc. 6*l.*; Coventr. et Lich. dioc. 10*l.* 5*s.*; de Bathen. dioc. 12*l.* 5*s.*; de Saresber. 17*l.*; de Ebor. 11*l.* 10*s.* Dat. apud urbem Veterben. decimo kal. Maii, pontificatus nostri anno secundo.”

Translation.

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, sends health and his apostolical blessing to his venerable brothers the archbishops of Canterbury and York, and their suffragans, and to his beloved sons the abbots and priors, the archdeacons, and the officials by them appointed throughout the kingdom of England, to whom these letters shall come. Lest any doubt should exist in what manner the penny of St. Peter, which is due to our chamber, should be collected in England, in those bishopricks and dioceses in which it is due, we have caused it to be noted in these presents, as it is entered into the register of the apostolic see. Diocese of Canterbury, 8*l.* 18*s.* sterling; London dioc. 16*l.* 10*s.*; Rochester, 5*l.* 7*s.*; Lincoln, 42*l.*; Norwich, 21*l.* 10*s.*; Ely, 5*s.*; Chichester, 8*l.*; Winchester, 18*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; Exeter, 20*l.* 5*s.*; Worcester, 10*l.* 5*s.*; Hereford, 6*l.*; Coventry and Lichfield, 10*l.* 5*s.*; Bath, 12*l.* 5*s.*; Salisbury, 17*l.*; York, 11*l.* 10*s.* Given at the city of Viterbo, on the 10th of May, in the second year of our pontificate.*

* Grafton's Chronicle. Somers's Tracts, from Bibl. Cotton.



A P P E N D I X.

The following Inventory is copied from one in the Stafford MSS. in the possession of Lord Bagot, at Blithfield:—

“Apparell and wardrobe stufte of the ryght honorable Henry earle of Stafford, only sonne to my lordes grace of Buckingham, delivered to the custody of Roland Lacy, in the 13th yeare of our soverayne lorde Kinge Henry th'eight; and of th'apparell of the wieffe of the said nobleman, who is the dowghter of the duke of Clarens.

- A gowne of clothe of tyssue, lyned with crymsyn satyn.
- A gowne of russet tynsell, furred with black buggy.
- A gowne of whyte damaske clothe of gold, lyned with crymsyn velvet.
- A gown of crymsyn velvet, lyned with damaske cloth of gold.
- A gown of white sylver, lyned with crymsyn velvet.
- A gown of greene velvet, lyned with greene satyn all through.
- A gowne of taffita velvet, lyned with wright black satyn; the forent, the cap, and the hynder parte, with black sarcent.
- A gowne of black velvet, olde, lyned with tawny satyn through, and garded about with a broad yarde of velvet.
- A gowne of black velvet, furred with fyne black buggie; the cap, the forfront, and the resydue with black lambe.
- A gowne of russet velvett, velvet upon velvet, furred with black buggy all through.
- A gowne of tawny velvet, furred with ribands all through.
- A gowne of cloth of russett satyn, complete unmade.

A gowne of cloth of black satyn, complete unmade, with a cape to the same.

A lyninge of black sarcynet, with ij. pieces to the same.

A hole lyninge, for a gowne of whyte satyn.

A cote of cloth of tyssue, with di. sleeves, and a placard to the same.

A cote of damaske cloth of gold, with sleeves and placard thereto.

A cote of purple velvet, embroidered with damask cloth of gold.

A cote of greene satyn, quylted and lettred with embroidered worke, placard and sleeves to the same, lackinge a faire boddye.

A cote of greene velvet, with ij. . . . sleeves, and placard thereto.

A jacket, satin, cloked with damaske cloth of gold, with half placard to the same.

A frocked jacket of crymsyn satyn and cloth of sylver, and underlayd with cloth of tyssue and crymsyn satyn.

A jackett of greene tynsell, lyned all through with greene sarcent, and placard.

A frocke of crymsyn, welted with cloth of golde.

A frocke of black velvet, with ij. welts of clothe of gold.

A dublet of cloth of tyssue, lyned through with blacke sarcent, with a placard to the same.

A dublet of cloth of sylver, lyned through and underlayd with damaske cloth of gold, and lyned with whyte sarcent through, with a placard.

A dublet of greene damaske clothe of golde, lyned with greene sarcent through, and a plackarde to the same.

A dublet of blewe tynsell, with a placard to the same.

A dublet of blacke satyn, with a placard and foresleeves of damaske cloth of gold.

A dublet of cloth of sylver, with a placard to the same.

A dublet of crymsyn saten, with a placard to the same.

A dublet of crymsyn satyn, cut and underlayd through with cloth of gold of damaske, lyned through with blacke sarcent, and a placard to the same.

A dublet of crymsyn tynsell.

A payre of hosyn of skarlet, the brech of sylver, and underlayd with damaske cloth of gold, and two clasps, and two oies of sylver and gylt to the same.

Two payre of hosyn, skarlet, garded with crymsyn velvet.

A payre of hosyn of skarlet, garded with the same.

A payre of hosen, black, with purple brech, embroidered and underlayd with cloth of sylver.

Two payre of hosen black, and guarded with the same.

A payre of hosen of lether, the brech of scarlet, and guarded with the same.

A petycoate of skarlett.

A cloke of scarlett.

Three plumettes of feders, whereof one blacke, one russett, and vij. crymsyn.

A gowne layd with sylver and gylt, and a girdle of greene ribband silke, with a greate knot thereto.

A payre of arminge spores, and arminge sworde with a cloth corded with crymsyn velvet. A buckler.

A paire of stirropes, gilt, newe, the ledgers corded with crymsyn velvett.

A paire of stirropes, olde and gilt, the ledgers corded with crymsyn velvett.

A paire of stirropes, the leders corded with crymsyn velvett, and greene and whyte lares.

Tye hoses of greene velvet, embroidered with clothe of gold.

A hole hors harnes of crymsyn velvet, frynged with damaske cloth of gold, and a pylon of crymsyn velvet for my Lady, embroidered with damaske cloth of golde.

A harnes of blacke velvet, stoded with and gilt.

A horse harnes of greene velvet, embroidered with damaske cloth of gold.

A headstall and a reane of crymsyn velvet, guarded with whyte and greene ribands.

A saddle covered with crymsyn velvet, frynged with damaske and gold.

A saddle covered with black velvet, frynged with damask and gold, and new girthes to the same.

A saddle, covered with black clothes for a male, and girthes to the same.

A sumpter saddle.

Two barbes for horses.

A paire of buskyns of blacke velvet.

iiiij. paire of buskyns of blacke clothe.
 ij. paire of yellow buskyns.
 iiiij. paire of buskyns.
 A payre of shoes of crymsyn velvet quartered.
 iiiij. payre of shoes of whyte clothe, whereof one paire given to Mr.
 Audley, the ij^d day of October.
 iiij. paire of shoes of redd clothe.
 iij. paire of yellow clothe.
 A payre of arminge shoes.
 A payre of slippers of redd letter.
 A cradle, and ij. posts for the same, all corded with crymsyn velvet.
 viij. plates for candles.
 viij. locks of yron plate.
 A paire of male gerthes.
 A sumpter cloth, containing in length ij. yds, and in bredth a yd and di.
 A sumpter cloth, contayning in length ij. yerdes, and in bredth 1 yd
 and di.

A gowne of tynsell with crymsyn saten.
 A gowne of damaske clothe of golde, lyned with crymsyn saten.
 A gowne of damaske clothe of gold, furred with ermyne.
 A gowne of crymsyn tynsell, lyned with crymsyn velvet.
 A gowne of cloth of sylver, lyned with damaske clothe of gold.
 A gowne of crymsyn velvett, perled, and lyned with cloth of sylver.
 A gowne of purple velvett, lyned with cloth of damaske gold.
 A gowne of blacke velvett, lyned with crymsyn tynsell.
 A gowne of greene velvett, lyned with greene saten.
 A gowne of whyte satyn, lyned with crymsyn velvett.
 A gowne of blacke velvett, furred with mynever.
 A gowne of blacke velvett, lyned with crymsyn saten.
 A gowne of tawney velvet.
 A gowne of blacke damaske, lyned with blacke velvet.
 A gowne of russet satyn, lyned with grene tynsell.
 A gowne of tawney camlet, lyned with tawney velvet.

A kirtle of damaske cloth of golde.
 A kirtle of yellow satyn.
 A kirtle of white satyn.
 A kirtle of black velvet.
 A kirtle of russet satyn.
 A cloke.
 A christeninge gown of blewe velvet, furred and powdered with armins.
 A payre of shoes of black velvet.
 A payre of shoes of black cloth.
 A payre of slippers of black velvet.
 A payre of slippers of black lether.
 A great fetherbed of downe, with a bolster to the same.
 Another federbed, and a bolster to the same.
 Another federbed, and a bolster to the same.
 A fetherbed, with a bolster to the same.
 A fetherbed, with a bolster to the same.
 iij. matteresses, and two bolsters to the same.
 ij. pillowes of fyne downe.
 An other pillowe.
 Two pillowes in my Lady Margaret's cradle, daughter to the said Lord.
 iij. pillowes.
 A payre of fustyans.
 vj. blankets.
 ij. lappyns of whyte, for donninge of bedds.
 A superboard of cloth of golde, with curtaynes of sarcenet to the same.
 A superboard of greene damaske, and curtaynes of greene sarcenet to the same.
 A superboard of damaske, and curtyns of the same.
 A pyllow and a tester for a cradle, of crymsyn sarcenet.
 A counterpoyn特 of counterfet arras, lyned with canvas, with a woman in a blewe gowne holdinge a child in her armes in the nether end of cloth, contayninge in length a yerde one qr, and in bredth iij. yerdes j. quarter.
 A counterpoyn特 of counterfet arras, lyned with canvas, having a kynge in the midst, and a woman in a greene gowne with a child in her armes, contayninge in length iij. yardes di. and di. qr.

A counterpoyn of counterfet arras, lyned with canvas, having in the upper parte of the cloth vj. naked menn in . . . and a heron by . . . contayninge in length iiiij. yardes and di., and in bredth iij. yardes di. and di. quarter.

A counterpoyn of counterfet arras, lyned with canvas, having three kynges of Collogn offering, contayning in length iiiij. yards di., and in bredth iij. yards iij. quarters.

An olde counterpoyn of tapestrye, lyned with canvas, containing in length ij. yards iij. quarters, and in bredth ij. yards j. quarter.

A tester of counterfet arras, lyned with canvas, having ij. small whyte birds in the upper parte of the cloth over a kinge and a queene, contayning in length vij. yards, and in bredth iij. yards iij. quarters.

A tester of counterfet arras, having a byshoppe in the upper parte, marrying a kynge and a quene, contayning in length vij. yards, and in bredth iij. yards iij. quarters.

A tester of counterfet arras, lyned with canvas, having a queene in a blewe gowne and a septer in her hand, contayning in length vij. yards, and in bredth iij. yards iij. quarters.

An olde tester of counterfet arras with my Lord's armes, and Stafford knottes, and houndes with chaines about there necks, and lyned with canvas, contayning in length iiiij. yards, and in bredth iij. yards di.

Another tester of the same worke, and stufte, lyned with canvas, contayning in length vj. yards j. qr, and in bredth iij. yardes, iij. quarters.

An olde tester of fyne arras, lyned with canvas, full of menn of armys, contayning in length vj. yards, and in bredth iij. yards iij. quarters.

An olde tester of counterfet arras, lyned with canvas, of the same stufte and worke, contayning in length vij. yards, and in bredth iij. yards iij. quarters.

A border of counterfet arras, with divers armys thereon, lyned with canvas, contayning in length vijj. yards j quarr, and in bredth iij. quarters.

A lining coverlet of redd and yellow, containing in length ij. yards iij. quarters, and in bredth ij. yards iij. q^{rs}.

A lining coverlet of yellow and greene, contayning in length ij. yards iij. quarters, and in bredth a yard iij. quarters.

A carpet, containing in length iiij. yards j. quarter, and in bredth j. yard and quarter.

A carpet, contayning in length ij. yards, in bredth a yard di.

A carpet, containing in length ij. yards j. quarter, and in bredth j. yard j. quarter.

A carpet, contayning in length ij. yards, in bredth a yard di.

A cussdyn of fine arras, with four ymages on every syde.

ij cussdyns of greene velvet the one syde, and the other syde clothe of golde.

iiij. cussdyns of verdur, whereof ij. on both sides an hawk, and the iiij^{de} on every syde an hound with a chaine.

A chaire, covered with lether embroidered.

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